Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy
Ústav filosofie a religionistiky

Diplomová práce

Téma: Foreign Influences in Religion of Ancient Syria:
Non-Semitic Traits in Syrian Culture in the Late Bronze Age

Cizí vlivy v náboženství starověké Sýrie:
nesemitské rysy syrské kultury pozdní doby bronzové

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Podpis:

Poděkování

Rád bych na tomto místě poděkoval všem, kteří mě během mého dlouhého studia podporovali – manželce, rodičům, přátelům, spolužákům i vyučujícím (zvláště z ÚFaR, ÚSJ a ČEgU). Zvláštní dík patří doc. Daliboru Antalíkovi, Dr., za velice vstřícný a individuální přístup během celého studia i za poskytnuté konzultace. Za další konzultace k obdobnému tématu děkuji také Martinovi Pehalovi, PhD.

F.V.

Abstract

This thesis aims to map non-Semitic influences in the religion and culture of the Late Bronze Age Syria. During the Late Bronze Age, Syria was divided into many local kingdoms which were most of the time subdued to the great empires of the ancient Near East (Mitanni and Ḫatti) and Egypt. Influences from these cultural areas are the most noticeable. Trade across the Mediterranean brought many cultural influences, too. These are mostly observable in art.

The thesis is centred around case studies from Ugarit, Amurru, Byblos, Karkemiš, Alalaḫ, Ḫalāb, Emar, Tunip and Qaṭna. Each case study shows peculiarities of individual sites and different modes of *cultural transfer*. The data are set into a broader anthropological perspective and some general conclusions are made about the process of culture transfer and about conceptions of foreignness in the cultures of the ancient Near East and Egypt. A broader theory of culture as a system of concepts is outlined and the material is interpreted in its light.

Key words

Foreigners, foreignness, culture transfer, religion, Late Bronze Age, ancient Syria, ancient Near East, Egypt, Ḫatti, Mitanni, Hittites, Hurrians, Egyptians, Ugarit, Amurru, Byblos, Karkemiš, Alalaḫ, Ḫalāb, Emar, Tunip, Qaṭna.

Anotace

Cílem této práce je zmapovat nesemitské vlivy v náboženství a kultuře starověké Sýrie pozdní doby bronzové. Během pozdní doby bronzové byla Sýrie rozdrobena na mnoho menších království. Ta byla povětšinou podřízena některé z větších mocností starověkého Předního východu (Mitanni a Ḫatti) či Egyptu. Vlivy z kulturních oblastí těchto států jsou pozorovatelné nejvíce. Obchod s oblastmi ve Středozemním moři přinesl také mnoho vlivů, především v oblasti umění.

Ústřední částí diplomové práce jsou případové studie z Ugaritu, Amurru, Byblu, Karkemiše, Alalaḫu, Ḫalābu, Emaru, Tunipu and Qaṭny. Každá z těchto případových studií nám ukazuje specifika jednotlivých lokalit a rozličné možnosti *kulturního přenosu*. Data jsou interpretována z širší antropologické perspektivy. Práce se také zaměřuje na teoretické vývody ohledně průběhu kulturního přenosu a na pojetí cizosti v rámci kultur starověkého Předního východu a Egypta. Nastíněna je také širší teorie kultury jako systému konceptů a veškerý materiál je interpretován v jejím světle.

Klíčová slova

Cizinci, cizost, kulturní přenos, náboženství, pozdní doba bronzová, starověká Sýrie, starověký Přední východ, Egypt, Ḫatti, Mitanni, Chetité, Churrité, Egypťané, Ugarit, Amurru, Byblos, Karkemiš, Alalaḫ, Ḫalāb, Emar, Tunip, Qaṭna.

Contents

1 Introduction

The ancient Syria was a crossroad of cultures. During its history the great neighbouring "superpowers" (often called "empires"[1]) – Mitanni, Egypt, Ḫatti, Assyria or Babylonia – interfered into local affairs. In addition, this area was interconnected with the external world by a net of trade routes, both by sea and land, and it hosted many foreign residents. These connections have left various traces in local cultures, religions or policies. Some scholars do not hesitate to talk of ancient *globalism*[2] and *transculturalism*[3] and I agree with them.

This thesis aim is to provide a picture of "Syrian culture" in relation to non-Semitic influences in the LBA. To my knowledge this topic has not yet been elaborated from the perspective of the whole of the ancient Syria. In this thesis I have tried to provide interconnections among the sources and to fit them into a broader anthropological perspective. Thus, this thesis is not only descriptive, but it is interpretative, too. Its conclusions do not relate only to the ancient Syria or the ancient Near East but can be of use to anyone who is interested in the phenomenon of *culture transfer*. Possibly, our modern society can learn from this history as well.

Firstly, we have to define the topic itself. *Geographical demarcation* of the ancient Syria varies throughout the scholarly discussion and the same can be said of the names given to it (Syria, Levant, Canaan, Syro-Palestine etc.). In this thesis we use the ancient Syria to designate approximately the area highlighted in this map:

Figure 1: Demarcation of the ancient Syria

The problem arises from a simple fact that "the" Syrian culture was not homogenous. Surrounding areas show many similar cultural traits and Syria shows various influences from its

[1] I have adopted this term although it is misleading in regard to its modern connotations.
[2] E.g. Heinz, "The Spatial Heritage of Alalakh – Any Signs of 'Localism', 'Regionalism' or 'Globalism' Left Behind?", in: *QNBAG*, 95.
[3] E.g. Mynářová, *Počátek vítězství Krále Horního a Dolního Egypta*, Praha: Oikoymenh, 2015,13.

neighbours (as is obvious by the topic itself). Furthermore, ancient Syria comprised mostly of smaller city states which ruled over larger or smaller areas and their domains often changed. During the LBA these states were scarcely independent and shifted their loyalties either to Mitanni, Egypt or Ḫatti. In addition, the states controlled rather the routes in between than the whole area and this control was hardly perfect. Thus, cultural, linguistic, geopolitical or ethnic borders will remain ever dynamic and blurry.

Anyhow, the area outlined in the map positively shows some cultural, linguistic and geopolitical continuity. The region of Palestine is culturally the closest area, but it demonstrates such differences that the thesis would require much wider space.

Religion is used in this thesis in its narrow (substantivist) sense.[4] This means that *religion* in this thesis designates human activities relating to the deities and to the divine sphere.[5] However, the scope of this study is broader since it aims to include more than just religion in this narrow sense. Thus, the subtitle includes the term *culture* which is used in its wider sense. What we mean by *culture* is outlined in chapter 1.2 where I try to summarize my methodological approach.

This thesis is of a selective nature. It does not aim to outline the history of foreign influences in the ancient Syria in its entirety. Due to the wide area of interest (both temporarily and spatially) and limited space, several topics had to be eluded.

The Uluburun shipwreck[6] found wrecked near Kaş in southern Turkey could be an exemplary case study of how the culture transfer in the LBA had taken place. The ship carried various artistic objects. Some of these were like those discussed in this thesis. Cargo of this ship originated from many sites from Egypt through Palestinian and Levantine coast to Cyprus.

Another interesting subject is that of a religion in diplomacy and politics. E.g. the correspondence of the LBA provides us with many examples of cultural appropriations, demands for manufacture of cultic objects, sworn statements or curses under patronage of various deities or references to cultic duties. The world of the LBA empires shows us a sophisticated system of symbolic communication. Relative positions of individual rulers were expressed through language of family and patron-client relationship and were in dynamical relations with the conceptions of pantheons.[7] The subject of the LBA diplomatic religion has been scattered throughout this thesis, but an individual study is needed.

Although I have discarded many topics and sources in this thesis, I have tried to outline an appropriate picture that does not try to conceal any important facts. I can only hope I have succeeded in my endeavour.

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[4] For a discussion on definition of religion see Arnal, "Definition", in: Braun and McCutcheon (eds.), *Guide to the Study of Religion,* New York: Cassell, 2000, 21–34.

[5] For discussions on conception of divinity in the ancient Near East and Egypt see Porter (ed.), *What is a God?: Anthropomorphic and Non-Anthropomorphic Aspects of Deity in Ancient Mesopotamia,* Chebeague: Casco Bay Assyriological Institute, 2009, Porter (ed.), *One God or Many?: Concepts of Divinity in the Ancient World*, Chebeague: Casco Bay Assyriological Institute, 2000 and Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982.

[6] For a short introduction see Pulak, "Uluburun Shipwreck", in: Cline (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, 862–876.

[7] See Handy, *Among the Host of Heaven: The Syro-Palestinian Pantheon as Bureaucracy,* Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1994 and Tugendhaft, *Baal and the Politics of Poetry*, New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2018.

1.1 Sources

1.1.1 Primary sources

The archaeology of the ancient Syria and its neighbours has provided us with a large number of primary sources. The main problem for any scholar is availability of these sources since the physical sources are scattered around the world. In addition, the humanitarian crisis in contemporary Syria decimates both people and their cultural heritage. It also prevents scholarly contact and field research. Furthermore, a very slow process of publication of archaeological findings delays any research and some sources are available only to a handful of scholars. Finally, processed and published sources are not always accessible to all scholars, including me.

1.1.1.1 Textual evidence

Texts from the ancient Syria were written in several languages. The most important for us are Akkadian (in its dialects), Hurrian, Hittite (in its dialects), Ugaritic and Egyptian. Relevant writing systems include syllabic cuneiform, Ugaritic alphabetical cuneiform, Luwian hieroglyphs and Egyptian hieroglyphs.

The most abundant sources for the study of religion were unearthed at Ugarit and Emar. Akkadian, Hurrian and Ugaritic texts from Ugarit were published in the series Ugaritica, RSO and KTU. Because of the abundance of these texts (in addition to rich material culture found at Ugarit) the chapter on Ugarit is the most extensive. Most of the Emar texts were published in the series *Emar* and some of the relevant ritual texts were collated, translated and commented by Fleming.[8] Many other texts from Emar are scattered due to a number of "unofficial excavations".[9] Texts from both Ugarit and Emar provides invaluable sources for the study of Hurrian and Hittite influence in cult. Tablets form Alalaḫ (published by Wiseman in AT) provide some important evidence, too.

One of the most important sources for the study of cultural contact in the LBA is the Amarna correspondence. The letters bear siglum EA and were recently collated, transcribed and translated by Rainey.[10]

Many other sites have yielded texts which are important to our study (whether these are tablets or inscriptions). Recently, an indispensable handbook series was published in Czech about the writings from the ancient Syria – SPL. Society of Biblical Literature publishes important series *Writings from the Ancient World*[11] which include e.g. translations of Ugaritic myth and epic[12] or Ugaritic ritual texts.[13]

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[8] Fleming, *Time at Emar: The Cultic Calendar and the Rituals from the Diviner's House*, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2000.

[9] See *Emar Online Database*: https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/emarkonk/index.html [accessed 6th August 2019].

[10] Rainey, (coll., transcr., transl.), Schneidewind and Cochavi-Rainey (eds.), *The El-Amarna Correspondence: A New Edition of the Cuneiform Letters from the Site of El-Amarna Based on Collations of All Extant Tablets*, Boston: Brill, 2015.

[11] For volumes see *Writings from the Ancient World Series*: https://www.sbl-site.org/publications/Books_WAW.aspx [accessed 25th July 2019].

[12] Parker (ed.), *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry*, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997.

[13] Pardee, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit*, Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002.

1.1.1.2 Material culture

Material culture is of great importance for this study. Lot of the influences are observable only through artistic styles. Obviously, identification of styles and their fusions poses a problem for archaeology, art history and history of religions.[14]

Material sources are scattered across publications. Among the most important sources belong the series Ugaritica and RSO for Ugarit. Lot of the Ugaritic objects were also published by Yon in 2006.[15] Numerous photos and drawings of object from Qaṭna are scattered in the proceedings from an international conference *Qaṭna and the Networks of Bronze Age Globalism*.[16] Photos from the temple of *The Storm-god of Ḫalāb* were published by Kohlmeyer.[17] Of use are also studies by Cornelius[18] who provides rich visual material. Most important discussions of excavations and their interpretation were provided by Yon[19] for Ugarit, by Heinz[20] and Fink[21] for Alalaḫ and by Kohlmeyer[22] for Ḫalāb.

1.1.1.3 Chronology

The dates are cited according to Liverani[23] who uses the middle chronology. Precise absolute dating still poses a problem for Assyriology.[24] Using any other widely accepted chronology would not constitute any real problem for this paper. All the dates are BC.

1.1.2 Secondary literature

The discussion of foreign influences and intercultural contact was carried by many scholars. So far, their focus missed the LBA ancient Syria from a larger perspective. Many important studies are found in *QNBAG*. These do not refer only to Qaṭna. The *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*[25] include many valuable discussions and summarises many relevant topics – from history, through iconography, mythology, society or economy to onomastics. Of relevance is also the study of Archi who explored the formation of pantheons in relation to cultural contact using case studies of Ḫattuša and Ebla from the 3rd millennium BC and briefly sketched similarities with the alike processes at

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[14] For a general discussion see e.g. Lubar and Kingery (eds.), *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture*, London: Smithsonian Institution, 1995. For a discussion on ancient Syria see e.g. Aruz, "Styles of Interaction in Ancient Syria", in: *QNBAG*, 43–62 or Pfälzner, "The Art of Qatna and the Question of the 'International Style'", in: *QNBAG*, 181–218.

[15] Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra*, Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2006.

[16] *QNBAG*.

[17] Kohlmeyer, "The Temple of the Storm God in Aleppo During the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages", *Near Eastern Archeology*, 72/4 (2009), 190–202.

[18] Cornelius, *The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Baʿal: Late Bronz and Iron Age I Periods (C 1500-1000 BCE),* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994 and Cornelius, *The Many Faces of the Goddess: The Iconography of the Syro-Palestinian Goddesses Anat, Astarte, Qedeshet, and Asherah c. 1500–1000 BCE*, Fribourg: Accademic Press, 2008.

[19] Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra*.

[20] Heinz, "The Spatial Heritage of Alalakh".

[21] Fink, *Late Bronze Age Tell Atchana (Alalakh): Stratigraphy, Chronology, History*, Oxford: Archaeopress, 2010.

[22] Kohlmeyer, *Der Tempel des Wettergottes von Aleppo*, Münster: Rhema, 2000 and Kohlmeyer, "The Temple of the Storm God in Aleppo".

[23] Liverani, *The Ancient Near East: History, Society and Economy*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2014.

[24] For a discussion on dating see e.g. ibid., 9–16.

[25] Watson and Wyatt (eds.), *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, Leiden: Brill, 1999.

Ugarit and Israel.[26] Concept of *foreigners* in the ancient Near East was explored by Beckman.[27] One of the most inspiring books regarding the LBA politics and intercultural contact was written by Tugendhaft in 2018.[28] Some inspiration stems from Tazawa´s book on Syro-Palestinian deities in the New Kingdom Egypt.[29]

The most illuminating locally focused studies were provided by Beckman,[30] Michel[31] and Prechel[32] for Emar, by Singer[33] and Vita[34] for Ugarit, in a volume edited by Marchetti[35] for Karkemiš and by Kilani[36] for Byblos. Other studies could be mentioned but these are the most important.

1.2 Methodology – complexity of cultural life

The topic of this thesis is a broad one and touches various aspects of culture studies. Various approaches can be used to interpret the chosen material. The approach I have chosen is a combination of anthropological and sociological theories which I have encountered during my studies, but it is also rooted in my experience from travels, encounters with people, fiction literature, movies etc. On the following pages I shall try to outline my conception of culture with special attention to cosmology. The aim is to grasp the process of cultural contact, translatability, cross-cultural and intra-cultural understanding.

Most of the interpretations are *intuitive* (or rather *based on an educated guess*). This means that the material is interpreted in the context which is familiar to me – interpretations are based on an *ideal* which I have created about the ancient Near Eastern culture. I try to make the interpretations fit together into a system which makes sense to me, corresponds to the evidence (as I see it) and corresponds to the general conception of culture which I have in my mind. The process goes both ways and in light of the material my conceptions change as well. This may seem as an approach

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[26] Archi, "How a Pantheon Forms: The Cases of Hattian-hitite Anatolia and Ebla of the 3rd Millennium B.C.," in: Janowski, Koch and Wilhelm (eds.), *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament: Internationales Symposion Hamburg 17.–21. März 1990*, Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1993, 1–18.

[27] Beckman, "Foreigners in the Ancient Near East", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 133/2 (2013), 203–216.

[28] Tugendhaft, *Baal and the Politics of Poetry*.

[29] Tazawa, *Syro-Palestinian Deities in New Kingdom Egypt: The Hermeneutics of Their Existence*, Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009.

[30] Beckman, "Emar and Its Archives", in: Chavalas (ed.), *Emar: the History, Religion, and Culture of a Syrian Town in the Late Bronze Age*, Bethesda: CDL Press, 1996, 1–12 and Beckman, "The Pantheon of Emar", in: Taracha (ed.), *Silva Anatolica: Anatolian Studies Presented to Maciej Popko on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, Warsaw: Agade, 2002, 39–54.

[31] Michel, "Hittite Cults in Emar", in: Taracha (ed.), *Proceedings of the Eight International Congress of Hittitology: Warsaw, 5–9 September 2011*, Warsaw: Agade, 2014, 507–515 and Michel, "Private Religious Life in Emar and the Hittite Empire", in: de Boer and Dercksen (eds.), *Proceedingd of the 58th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Leiden 16–20 July 2012*, Wiona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2017, 203–210.

[32] Prechel, "Hethitische Rituale in Emar?", in: Cohen, d'Alfonso and Sürenhagen (eds.), *The City of Emar among the Late Bronze Age Empires: History, Landscape, and Society*, Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2008, 243–252.

[33] Singer, *The Calm before the Storm: Selected Writings of Itamar Singer on the End of the Late Bronze Age in Anatolia and the Levant*, Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011.

[34] Vita, "Hurrian as a Living Language in Ugaritic Society", in: Fracaroli and del Olmo Lete (eds.), *Reconstructing a Distant Past. Ancient Near Eastern Essays in Tribute to Jorge R. Silva Castillo*, Barcelona: Sabadell, 2009, 219–231.

[35] Marchetti (ed.), *Karkemish: An Ancient Capital on the Euphrates*, Bologna: Ante Quem, 2014.

[36] Kilani, *Byblos in the Late Bronze Age: Interactions between the Levantine and Egyptian Worlds,* a doctoral thesis, University of Oxford: Queen's College, 2017.

without an exact methodology – and it is true. I believe that in humanities nothing else is possible since humans are too fluid to be grasped in one comprehensive and solid theory.

The general conception of culture to which I refer may be named *complexity of cultural life*. The core claim is that most cultures are not isolated, and none are homogenous. We often talk about a culture (and we may add society, science, religion etc. – let us call them *systems*) as a whole. On the other hand, we usually find different perspectives from individuals (and different perspectives from one individual on different occasions or during different stages of life)[37] and contradictions between proclaimed ideals and actual behaviour.[38]

What I mean by a *system* is a *cluster of concepts* which form a structure of links among them. The term *concept* refers to any idea or conception – such as a *deity* (in general) or a *concrete deity* (e.g. God, Ba'al, Marduk etc.), a *form of rulership* (concepts of kingship, presidency...) etc. Concepts do not have to be "purely intellectual" but can be of visual, acoustic or haptic experience since we may know something even if we lack an expression/description for it. Meaning of any concept can be seen only in relations it has with other concepts.[39]

This structure and its formation during a life of a person is a complex process. The general idea about this construction is derived from the concept of *social construction of reality*, as outlined by Berger and Luckmann in the book of the same name.[40] Thus, the whole life of a person (his education, family, friends, culture, encounters with foreigners, literature, movies, stories, rituals, environment, health issues – to pick only few[41]) generates concepts and structure among them. As no one lives the same life (even in the case of small and closed communities), any *individual system* (its structure and concepts) differ. Together with Victor Turner, I perceive any culture as a *social drama*[42]– a never-ending dynamic process of a development and change.

System in the sense of *culture* is a useful idealization of sum of *individual systems* that more or less overlap. I would argue that people inside a system tend to understand (and to agree with) each other better than those outside of it as it provides them with shared possibilities for symbolic

[37] Compare the case of attribution of either witchcraft, breach of sexual taboos, incompetency or something else, as a source for potter's failure in burning his creations in Azande culture. See Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976, 28–29.

[38] E.g. Edmund Leach showed that systems may not be coherent, and that practices and ideas do not need to correspond. He showed this quite well in his book Leach, *Political Systems of Highland Burma*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954. This goes contra the theory of Radcliffe-Brown, who saw societies as coherent and well organised, harmonic (or even self-enclosed) system. See Chlup, "Struktura a antistruktura: Rituál v pojetí Victora Turnera I", Religio, 13/1 (2005), 4.

[39] As is the core claim of structuralist theories based on the works of Lévi-Strauss. See e.g. Wiseman and Groves, *Introducing Lévi-Strauss and Structural Anthropology*, Cambridge: Icon Books, 1997.

[40] Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*, New York: Anchor Books, 1967. The outline of *social construction of reality* may be seen already in Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islanders*, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964, 233–234. However, his conception lacked the dynamics of change.

[41] Of course, the construction of reality is not only sociological process but also psychological.

[42] See Turner, *Dramas, fields, and metaphors: symbolic action in human society*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996, 23–59

communication.[43] This understanding may be viewed through the concept of *strong grid* (and *restricted code*) as described by Mary Douglas, based on Bernstein.[44] To get it more complicated, any system can stand by itself or be a sub-system/supra-system of other systems. Usually, people do not live only in one system, but in several which cross each other. Also, people can ad-hoc switch among systems to which they relate. This is well seen e.g. when playing a game (such as LARP – *Live Action Role Play* – or even a board game) – suddenly, words get different meanings, roles changes, cosmology changes etc. Interesting theory in this regard may be seen in the book *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*[45] (Czech translation *Všichni hrajeme divadlo – We All Act in a Theatre* possibly fits the theory better) that shows us the way in which we switch among systems according to a context.

A structure is formed on a large scale (we may say cosmic since an *individual system* is an *individual cosmology*) but obviously, as was already pointed out, people stress and realise only some of the concepts and links in any particular situation.[46] Thus, on different occasions, the actuated system *is* (not only seems) different – it is *contextual*.[47] Systems in this sense form only barriers between which one must move to be perceived as belonging to it. Some of the concepts are *central* (that means more important than others, e.g. the person of Jesus for Christian systems) and others *peripheral* (that means less important, e.g. concept of a car in Christian systems) – this also changes according to the context (car is an important concept for a Christian who works for Volkswagen). Concepts may be *contextually interchangeable* (e.g. God and Jesus; synonyms are a parallel on a level of language; later we shall observe this interchangeability on gods within the ancient Near Eastern cultures) which is allowed by their structural links to other concepts – where the actuated structure is same, the meaning is same.

This conception of systems is important for us as it provides a tool to understand cultural contact and transfer. In this view the change and míxis are an integral part of the culture of the ancient Syria and not deviations of "pure west-Semitic Syrian culture". Although archaeological findings are important to us, we must see that "*pots are not people*"[48] – the presence of Egyptian style pottery does not necessarily indicate a site is an Egyptian one, just as the Hurrian name does not necessarily mean Hurrian ethnicity of its bearer, etc. We shall hopefully see that the culture of ancient Syria was in this sense both multicultural (that is different systems working side by side) and transcultural (different systems blending into each other and forming new systems).[49]

Cultural transfer in this light has three ideal poles. If a concept of a different system is encountered, it may be either positively incorporated (e.g. Baʿal, ʿAnat or ʿAṯtarta in the system of New Kingdom Egypt), negatively incorporated/rejected (e.g. "pagan gods" in Christian systems[50]) or

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[43] Culture was seen as a system of mutually understandable communication by Leach, "Magical Hair", in: Hugh-Jones and Laidlaw (eds.), *The essential Edmund Leach. Volume II*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000, 178.

[44] See Douglas, *Natural Symbols,* New York: Routledge, 2003.

[45] Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1959.

[46] Once again, we may point to the Azande, where the notion of witchcraft is actuated only in particular cases and on other occasions it is ignored. See Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande*, 48.

[47] This idea is, once again, not anything new, see e.g. Evans-Pritchard, *Theories of Primitive Religion*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965, 89 or Leach, *Political Systems of Highland Burma*, 8.

[48] Quinn, *In search of the Phoenicians*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018, 69.

[49] Mynářová, *Počátek vítězství Krále Horního a Dolního Egypta*,13.

[50] One, of course, could argue that some of the "pagan gods" were positively incorporated as saints.

indifferently incorporated/ignored (since it is possible to encounter something, know of its existence but almost never actively stress or realise it; or simply forget it). We will focus only on the first two – positive and negative incorporation since these are observable in the material we have at our disposal.

The possibility of inter-cultural understanding is based on the structural system. By exploring the links an unknown concept has with known concepts (or even better concepts which are shared by two communicating systems) we may understand it (though always differently than in the original system). We grasp the meaning through what we already know (a concept of *president* can be explained through a concept of *emperor* and vice versa). Anyhow, this supposes there is something shared between the systems (and generally: within the humanity – what that might be is outside the scope of this study since during the LBA cultures of the ancient Near East and Egypt already shared a lot and culture contact was long established).

Difficulty of this approach lies, quite obviously, in the fact that we do not see into the heads of individuals and thus, our understanding of an individual systems can be based solely on expressions individuals provide us (whether knowingly or unknowingly). Moreover, sources we have for the reconstruction of cultures of the ancient Near East are, to say it mildly, very scant. Our picture of them is largely fragmental and it mostly ignores individual systems (but these may appear as well as we know of many individuals and their actions which show us part of their world – such as the case of Ilimilku, scribe of Ugaritic poems).

That the opinions differed within cultures of our interest, and that these difference was acknowledged, may be well seen in a wisdom composition *Šimâ Milka* (*Hear the Advice*).[51] There the instructions of *šūpê-amēli* ("the most famous of man") are relativized and rejected by the instructed person (addressed as a *son*, possibly in a sense of an apprentice[52]).

This work was used in a scribal curriculum[53] as were many other wisdom compositions.[54] Thus, it may be not so crazy to state that a touch of relativity was an integral part of the educational system of scribes in the LBA throughout the Near East.[55] *The Ballad of Early Rulers*[56] talks about changes of fates which are an integral part of life. In the *Baʿal cycle*[57] one may observe a critical reflexion of political relations of the LBA Near East and expressions of its fluidity.[58] Seen in this light, I suggest that dynamics and change were not ignored in the cultures of our interest but were known and reflected.

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[51] Found in several manuscripts in Ugarit (RS 22.439, RS 94.2544 + RS 94.2548, RS 94.5028), Emar (*Emar* 778–780 compiled from various fragments) and Ḫattuša (KUB 4.3, KBo 12.70). For the translation and commentary see Cohen, *Wisdom from the late Bronze Age,* Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013, 81–128.

[52] Ibid., 81–82.

[53] Ibid., 116.

[54] The place and role of wisdom literature within the scribal curriculum is discussed in ibid., 55–77.

[55] The manuscripts, as was already stated, were found in Ugarit (coastal Syria), Emar (liminal city between Mesopotamia and Syria, with strong Hittite influence), Ḫattuša (capital of the Hittite kingdom), but possibly was a Babylonian product, see ibid., 127.

[56] Once again found at Ugarit and Emar. For the translation and commentary see ibid., 129–150.

[57] KTU 1.1–1.6. For translation by Mark Smith see Parker (ed.), *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry*, 81–176.

[58] This topic was discussed in Tugendhaft, *Baal and the Politics of Poetry*. Cohen, *Wisdom from the late Bronze Age,* 125–126 views the ideas in *Šimâ Milka* from the perspective of political instability, too.

1.3 Who was a foreigner?

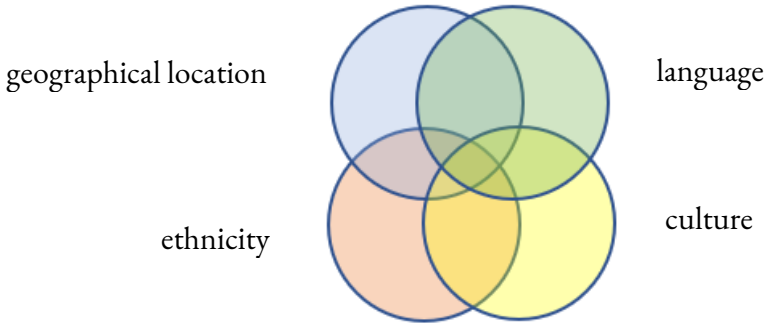
The topic of this thesis deals with foreignness and we need to outline what we mean by it. We need to find out, whether our conception of *foreignness* relates to some concepts we may observe in the sources. *Who was a foreigner for the people in ancient Syria? What was foreign to them? How was their identity constructed? How were foreigners perceived? What roles did they have?*

The topic of this thesis is focused on "non-Semitic components" of religious expressions and we shall choose the material on this criterion. However, the general concept of foreignness will show us that these "non-Semitic components" are only a small part of it. Moreover, some of these components might have not been perceived as foreign.

The population of the ancient Syria of 2nd millennium BC was mostly West-Semitic. This claim is based on languages used and on the cultural remains which we interpret as Semitic or West-Semitic. We can identify most of the material and languages which are non-Semitic. These are mostly Hurrian, Hittite, Egyptian or Sumerian. We identify them, once again, through the linguistic and stylistic analysis.

The question of origins arises. The culture of the ancient Syria is not a construct which came by itself in isolation and in its entirety but has a long history of cultural contact and inner development. As an example, we may point out the lunar goddess Nikkal who was in the time we observe quite well established and we should consider her part of the active Syrian pantheon. Nothing suggest she was perceived as a foreign deity. Nonetheless, she is not of the West-Semitic origin nor even of the Semitic origin – as far as we know, she is of the Sumerian origin (^{d}NIN.GAL). This shows us that concepts travelled and might have been incorporated to such extent that we should not see them as primarily foreign but as being an integral part of a concrete culture.[59] This is what we shall differentiate – what was considered foreign and what was considered indigenous, although "*we know it was foreign*".

In my system, *foreignness* is connected to concepts of geographical location (foreign is something which is not from "here"), language (what I do not understand is foreign; what is not in my mother tongue is foreign), culture (someone who behaves as if not belonging to my cultural systems seems foreign to me; someone who exceeds what I consider normal in clothing, hairstyle etc. sometimes seems foreign to me) and ethnicity (an unknown person of a different colour of skin strikes me as a foreigner). Together they form a notion and modes of foreignness. We may outline this on the following diagram:



We should always have in mind that foreignness is a scale and depends on the context. For a Czech person the Germans are foreign in contrast to Czechs, but "ours" in relation to EU; someone

[59] The case to which we can relate more closely can be e.g. Christianity in Europe – would we consider it foreign today?

from London is foreigner in Scotland in the context of Great Britain but "ours" in contrast to the French etc.

Now we shall explore several documents that will help us to see whether these concepts were related to concepts present in the ancient Near East. The sources are not always of Syrian provenance or even of the LBA date. However, I believe that the sources which are relative to our sphere of interest are admissible and relevant, too.

The first topic we should discuss is the vocabulary which we relate to notions of foreignness. It seems that expressions LÚ.BAR.RA (Sum.), *aḫû* (Akk.), *araḫzena-* (Hitt.) and nkr (Ug.) were used with meaning "foreigner", possibly without substantial negative connotations.[60] Some other words might even had a positive sense – such as *ubāru*, *ubārtu* (Akk.) which is according to CAD "stranger", "foreign guest", "resident alien", "guest-friend" and is etymologically related to ʿbr (Ug.), according to DUL "passer-by", "guest". Another semantically similar term in Ugaritic is gr – "protected", "guest", "foreigner". More general term is *šanû* (Akk.), meaning "something other/second", in extension "strange", "foreign".

On the other hand, some terms relate to foreignness in negative connotations. Akk. *nakru*, though related to Ugaritic nkr, was used as "foreign", "alien", "hostile", "strange", "enemy", "foe". Another false friend is *gērû* (compare to Ug. gr), which was rather "foe", "adversary"; verb *gerû* was then used as "to be hostile", "to start a lawsuit". Other terms which related both to foreignness and to enmity were KUR (Sum.), ʾib (Ug.) and *kurur-* (Hitt.).[61]

Now is a time to confront primary sources. The first document we shall explore is a passage from a ritual text from Ugarit:

> *And let come near a donkey of exculpation: exculpation of a* ***son of Ugarit*** *and puri[fy the* ***protégés***[62] ***of the walls of] Ugari<t>*** *and purify* ***Yamanian*** *and purify* ***ʿAramtian*** *and purify* ***x[...]*** *and purify Niqmaddu. If your dignity was defiled, whether by words of* ***Qa[ṭiyan*** *or by words of* ***Didma]yan*** *or by words of* ***Hurrian*** *or by words of* ***Hittite*** *or by words of* ***Cyprian*** *or by [words of* ***Ġabiran]*** *or by words of your* ***pillagers*** *or by words of your* ***op[press]ors*** *or by words of* ***QRZBL****. Or your dignity was defiled...*[63]

The text and its possible usages will be discussed later in chapter 3.1.1.5. Now we use it only to point out that a designation of people might have been based on their geographical origin. An example of geographical/political designations is seen also in a treaty of Niqmepa of Ugarit and Muršili II of Ḫatti:

> *You shall be at peace with my friend and hostile to my enemy. If the King of Hatti goes against the* ***land of Hanigalbat****, or* ***Egypt****, or* ***Babylonia****, or the* ***land of***

[60] Beckman, "Foreigners in the Ancient Near East", 203.
[61] For a short discussion of terms see Beckman, "Foreigners in the Ancient Near East", 203–204.
[62] Term gr is used here.
[63] KTU 1.40: 26–30, the translation is mine.

> ***Alshi***[64] *- whatever* ***[foreign] lands located*** *near the borders of [your] land are hostile to the King of Hatti, [or] whatever* ***lands [located*** *near the borders of* ***your land]*** *and friendly to the King of Hatti - [the* ***land of Mukish****, the* ***land] of Aleppo****, the* ***land of [Nuhashshi]****...*[65]

In a text from Alalaḫ[66] a legal matter regarding origin of citizens is decided. Some man claimed they are of Mitannian citizenship (*ḫanigalbatūtu*)[67] as they wanted to avoid the service at the court of Alalaḫ. The Mitannian king (Šauštatar), who was in a superior position, decided in favour of the king of Alalaḫ (Niqmepa) and the men in question returned into his service.[68]

We may conclude that the geographical origin of people established their foreignness, and geographical demarcation of lands did the same. Locality is a sign of differentiation. Foreignness may be perceived through the city or a larger political unit and these designations overlap according to the context. Beckman summarises the geographical identity of people as follows:

> *For example, in third-millennium b.c.e. Sumer, whose city-states shared a common language and religious system, the inhabitants of the city of Umma nonetheless held even the men of neighboring Lagash to be foreigners, if not so alien as the people of the Zagros mountains to the east. In contrast, most of the residents of central Anatolia during the Late Bronze Age, although belonging to diverse ethnic groups and speaking several—sometimes unrelated—tongues, were "men of Hatti" (LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}Ḫatti), the people we today call "Hittites."*[69]

Regarding Syria, we need to have in mind that there was no identity of "Syrian" as the identity there was constructed through smaller geopolitical units (usually cities and lands in their sphere of influence).[70] Thus, we have an Ugaritian, Ḫallābian, Byblian, but Hattian, Hurrian, Egyptian, Babylonian (these could, however, had a more nuanced division by cities or provinces, too).

The broader definition includes language, ethnicity and customs. As we shall observe further, the linguistic and cultural foreignness is reflected but the ethnicity is missing in the sources of the ancient Near East and is inconclusive for us. On the other hand, the colour of skin and other visual

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[64] That is Cyprus.

[65] CTH 66 §2, translation according to Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts,* Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996, 60.

[66] AT 13.

[67] For a discussion of the status of *ḫanigalbatūtu*, see de Martino "Mittanian Hegemony in Western and Central Syria", in: *QNBAG*, 28, with further references.

[68] See de Martino "Mittanian Hegemony in Western and Central Syria", 25.

[69] Beckman, "Foreigners in the Ancient Near East", 203.

[70] On the other hand, the letter EA 8 from Burnabnuriyaš of Karduniaš (Kassite Babylonia) to Aḫenaten of Egypt mentions the land of Canaan (KUR *Ki-na-aḫ-ḫi*) as problematic for his merchants. The land together with its kings is said to belong to the Egyptian king. Thus, in the case of Canaan there is a geographical name which connects several smaller geographical units – such as Acco which is mentioned in EA 8. Also, the term *Retenu* was used in Egyptian sources as toponym designating Syro-Palestine in general see Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism: Military Bases and the Evolution of Foreign Policy in Egypt's New Kingdom*, Leiden: Brill, 2005, 50.

and stylistic expressions of ethnicity was used as a visible sign of foreignness and enmity in Egypt as can be observed on this depiction:[71]

Figure 2: Enemies of Egypt

We may argue that e.g. the colour of skin and some other "ethnic markers" couldn't be overlooked when encountered. Anyhow, the material at our disposal is mostly silent. Some indices may be seen e.g. in *The Curse of Agade*[72] which talks about the Gutians as "*those who do not resemble other people, who are not reckoned as part of the Land, the Gutians, an unbridled people, with human intelligence but canine instincts and monkeys' features.*"[73] It is possible that this description reflect sort of ethnic foreignness.

It is not only "obvious" that language was reflected and connected to foreignness (since it is hardly possible not to perceive that someone is speaking in a way which I do not understand) but it is also reflected in contexts in which the word *lišānu* (Akk.) ("tongue", "language") appears. CAD part L: *lišānu 4. a, b* and particularly *c* shows many examples of the use of this word in connection to foreignness, strangeness, "nationality" etc. In the case of international relations, the understanding of foreign languages was a necessity for diplomats and scribes. We have already mentioned the role of wisdom literature in the scribal curriculum but have not stressed that it was mostly used as a tool for learning languages.[74] The training in this regard was not always sufficient as can be observed e.g. in the Amarna correspondence which sometimes included explanatory glosses – e.g. EA 53: 64, 65 or EA 250: 45.[75]

A difference in cultural customs is pointed out e.g. in a treaty of Šuppiluliuma I with Huqqana of Hayasa:

> *... for Hatti it is an important custom that a brother does not take his sister or female cousin (sexually). It is not permitted. In Hatti whoever commits such an act does not remain alive but is put to death here. Because your land is barbaric, it is in conflict (?). (There) one quite regularly takes his sister and female cousins. But in Hatti it is not permitted.*[76]

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[71] The concept of "nine bows" is outlined e.g. in: Poo, *Enemies of Civilization: Attitudes Toward Foreigners in Ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, and China*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005, 43–44.

[72] For the critical edition see Cooper, *The Curse of Agade,* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.

[73] ETCSL 2.1.5, ll. 153–57, according to Beckman, "Foreigners in the Ancient Near East", 204.

[74] The topic is discussed in Cohen, *Wisdom from the late Bronze Age,* 55–77.

[75] For the discussion of glosses see e.g. Izre'el, "The Amarna Glosses: Who Wrote What for Whom? Some Sociolinguistic Considerations", *Israel Oriental Studies*, 15 (1995), 101–122. For a study on "mixed languages" see Andrason and Vita, "Contact Languages of the Ancient Near East – Three more Case Studies (Ugaritic-Hurrian, Hurro-Akkadian and Canaano-Akkadian)," *Journal of Language Contact*, 9 (2016), 293–334.

[76] CTH 41 §25, translation according to Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 27.

Another example of acknowledgement of different customs is seen in a letter from Aššur-Ubaliṭ to Egypt who through this letter and through his diplomats hoped to establish diplomatic relations between Assyria and Egypt.

> *Do [n]ot delay the envoy whom I have sent to you for a visit. May he see and may he depart. May he see your behavior (nature) and the behaviour (nature) of your land and may he depart.*[77]

A correspondence of Ṣidon with Ugarit provides us with a unique example of relation of foreigners to local cults. Several letters[78] from the Ṣidonian king Adad-Yašma mention blasphemous behaviour of some Ugaritians against the cult of the Storm-god. Precise nature of their behaviour is unknown, but it was possibly related to an unauthorised entering of a temple of the Storm-god at Ṣidon[79] and negligence of the cult.

According to the correspondence, the Ṣidonians demanded stoning of the trespassers. However, the king of Ṣidon had undertaken this diplomatic correspondence to resolve the case in peace and to not harm his relations with Ugarit. Whether the discussion was fruitful and the Ugaritians escaped their fate is unknown, but the Ṣidonian king complains that the Ugaritic king does not send his messengers to Ṣidon anymore.[80]

This correspondence suggest that foreigners might had related to local cults, but they needed an authorization for it. On the other hand, we may suppose that locals needed an authorization, too. Any negligence of any cult was a trespass against the order, and it was punishable e.g. by stoning. However, it was not a simple process to stone a foreigner of a mightier city/state and it could had led to a diplomatic *faux pas*.

The topic of translatability of deities is addressed in chapter 4.3 but now we should briefly discuss this matter regarding cultural differences and their acknowledgement. All cultures in our scope are polytheistic and non-exclusive which means that they did not have a problem with acknowledging gods of others. Anyhow, the conception was far from Assmann´s concept of *internationality* of the gods.[81] Taken *ad absurdum* his idea means that pantheons were perceived as the same everywhere, but everyone called the deities by different names. As can be observed, the problem is seriously complicated as various tendencies and conceptions appear throughout the corpus. In correspondence we may observe a distinction of *our* (*my*) and *their* (*your*) gods or of gods of different lands. Several examples from the Amarna correspondence illustrate these distinctions:

> *May my gods and the gods of my brother protect them.*[82]
> *...as the gods of yo[ur] land live...*[83]

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[77] EA 15: 16–22, translation according to Rainey, *The El-Amarna Correspondence*, 129.
[78] RS 86.2221+ (RSO XIV 13), RS 86.2208 (RSO XIV 14), RS 18.054 (RSO XIV 15) and 86.2234 (RSO XIV 16). French translations of the first three texts are available in RSO XIV, 267–277.
[79] See Singer, "A Political History of Ugarit", 670.
[80] RS 18.054: 21′–23′.
[81] Discussed in Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism,* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998.
[82] EA 21: 31–32, letter from Mitanni to Egypt, see Rainey, *The El-Amarna Correspondence*, 159.
[83] EA 74: 15, letter from Byblos to Egypt, see ibid., 455.

And the king, my lord, knows that the gods of the city of Byblos are holy...[84]
May] the gods of the king, m[y] lord, [protect] his cities...[85]
May the gods of Burraburiash go with you.[86]
As for the gods and the elite of the c[ity of Qat]na, the king of the land of Ḫatti has taken them away.[87]
... as our gods and [the Lady o]f the city of Byblos live...[88]
May your gods and the sun god be witnesses whether I was in Tunip.[89]

To conclude, we may state that the construction of identity of "us" and "them" in a sense of foreignness is observable in the level of geography, language and culture customs. The question of ethnicity is dubious but possible. I believe that the use of terms foreign, foreigner, foreignness, etc. is acceptable to the ancient Near East if we do not forget that these terms are still our own and the semantic categories of the words used by people in the ancient Near East do not correspond with it precisely.

We may now turn our attention to the roles of foreigners. According to Beckman the main categories of foreigners throughout the ancient Near East are: [90] foreigners at home (their home), invaders, infiltrators, merchants, diplomats, technical experts, guest professors (those who taught cuneiform scribal culture; for Hittites these were from Assyria and Babylonia, for Egyptians these were probably from Ḫatti[91]), brides and grooms, mercenaries, refugees, captives and those who came within mass deportations. We will not follow his categories one by one as these are here only to help us realise the various connotations foreigners can have.

Merchants were a desired category and were often protected by law and treaties.[92] A treaty between Ugarit and Karkemiš dealt with monetary compensation for murders of merchants on each other´s soil.[93] Protection of merchants is also a subject of international correspondence, e.g. in the letter from Ḫattušili III to Kadašman-Enlil II.[94] The letter mentions merchants being killed in the land of Amurru, Ugarit and Subaru. Important for us is also a treaty between Ugarit and Ḫatti which talks about merchants of Ura.[95] This treaty regulates their residence and economic activities in Ugarit. It informs us about problems which come with the foreigners – their economic activities had to be regulated on the appeal of the Ugaritic king[96] as the foreign influence threatened the economy of

[84] EA 137: 31–32, letter from Byblos to Egypt, see ibid., 699.
[85] EA 326: 9–11, letter from Aškelon to Egypt, see ibid., 1207.
[86] EA 12: 7–8, letter from Babylonia to Egypt, see ibid., 108.
[87] EA 55: 42–43, letter from Qaṭna to Egypt, see ibid., 404.
[88] EA 109: 51–53, letter from Byblos to Egypt, see ibid., 592.
[89] EA 161: 32–34, letter from Amurru to Egypt, see ibid., 801.
[90] These categories form the sections of Beckman, "Foreigners in the Ancient Near East".
[91] Ibid., 208.
[92] Ibid., 205.
[93] See Vita, "The Society of Ugarit", in: *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, Watson and Wyatt (eds.), Leiden: Brill, 1999, 461.
[94] KBo 1.10 + KUB 3.72 (CTH 172).
[95] RS 17.130 and duplicates.
[96] See Singer, "A Political History of Ugarit", in: Watson and Wyatt (eds.), *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, Leiden: Brill, 1999, 648.

Ugarit. Nonetheless, military power was usually feared more. The fear of destruction was sometimes responded in a sense of a saying *the best defence is to attack* as in the *General's Letter*.[97]

Diplomats (also called "messengers", "ambassadors" or "envoys", in Akk. *mār šipri*) had very difficult and dangerous tasks. Although it was an important and prestigious position, their fate was not always positive since they were handed into the will of foreign rulers, not to mention the dangers of the long-distance travels. An example may be cited from the letter EA 16: 43–55:

> *As for the [am]bassadors, why are they continually standing outside so that they will die outside? If their standing outside is profitable to the king, then let them stand outside. Outside, let them die! Profit for the king or no[t], why should they die [outs]ide? As for the envoys that we [continually] se[nd,] then doubly, they should keep the envoys alive. [Ou]ts[ide] they are killing (them).*[98]

Foreign brides and grooms usually had great political influence in their new residence, but this was not always the case. After the death of Šuppiluliuma I, his wife from Babylonia engaged actively in the political struggles of succession.[99] On the other hand, a Babylonian princess in Egypt probably lost contact with her homeland as we can deduct from the letter EA 1 from Egypt to Babylonia. This letter contains responses to letters from Babylonia to Egypt (which are cited in the letter) where the Babylonian king complains about his sister not being seen among the wives of the Egyptian king and when she was shown to the diplomats, they did not recognise her:

> *Perhaps it was the daughter of some lowly person either one of the Kaskeans or a daughter of the land of Khanigalbat, or perhaps of the land of Ugarit which my envoys saw. Who can trust those that she is like her? ˹This˺ one did not open her mouth. One cannot trust them in anything.*[100]

This may also point to some concept of "better" (prestigious) and "worse" (lowly) foreignness. Similarly, Hittites mocked Kaška people for being as "swineherds and weavers of linen".[101]

Foreigners who trespassed borders without permission were fugitives/refugees. Their extradition is one of the usual treaty concerns. As an example, we may once again point out the treaty of Niqmepa and Muršili II:

> *If a fugitive [flees] from Hatti [and comes to the land of Ugarit], Niqmepa shall seize him [and return him] to Hatti. [If you do not return him, you will transgress] the oath.*[102]

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[97] Ugaritica V, 20 (RS 20.33). Large study was carried out by Izre'el and Singer, *The General's Letter from Ugarit. A Linguistic and Historical Reevaluation of RS 20.33 (Ugaritica V, No. 20)*, Tel Aviv: The Chaim Rosenberg School of Jewish Studies, 1990.

[98] Translation according to Rainey, *The El-Amarna Correspondence*, 133.

[99] Beckman, "Foreigners in the Ancient Near East", 209.

[100] EA 1: 37–42, translation according to Rainey, *The El-Amarna Correspondence*, 61.

[101] Beckman, "Foreigners in the Ancient Near East", 204, KUB 24.4. (CTH 376) i 26.

[102] CTH 66 §12, translation according to Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 62.

Since Ugarit was a vassal state the treaty did not work vice versa. Statements as this are concern of treaties between larger powers, too – in the *Silver Treaty*[103] between Ḫatti and Egypt the mutual extradition of refugees occupies a large part.

Large quantities of foreigners were brought to their new residence as war captives. This is rather a case of larger powers like Ḫatti, Egypt, Babylonia or Assyria. Muršili II boasted he brought to his royal establishment 15,500 civilian captives during his 3rd reginal year.[104]

Also, we must not forget about the cases when foreigners assimilated to local cultures but changed it substantially at the same time. Prime examples being Amorites or Kassites in Babylonia.[105]

To conclude this brief sketch of conception of foreignness, we must state that during the 2nd millennium BC the ancient Near East and Egypt experienced constant interchange of people. The people from other cities or lands were considered foreigners and there possibly existed a hierarchy of "more prestigious" and "less prestigious" foreigners. The source material does not provide us with detailed reception of foreigners in larger population but with the reception on the level of elites and international relations. Their conception mirrored the complexity of human interactions – in the sources we can observe profit (not only economical) which comes from the interaction with foreigners but also a danger which comes with foreigners, as well as observations of "strange" customs of the *others* and at the same time the desire to become acquainted with these customs.

[103] Akk. versions A: KBo 1.7 + 28.115 + KUB 3.121; B: KBo 1.25 + KUB 3.11 + VBoT 6 + KUB 48.73; C: KUB 3.120. Egyptian version KTI II, 225–232. For critical edition see Edel, *Der Vertrag zwischen Rameses II. von Ägypten und Hattušili III. von Hatti*, Berliln: Gebr, 1997.

[104] KBo 3.4 (CTH 61.I) ii 41–45, see Beckman, "Foreigners in the Ancient Near East", 210.

[105] Ibid., 205.

2 Historical background[106]

In order to understand the mixture of religious ideas from different part of the ancient Near East, we must briefly outline the history of respective area. Political situation was complex and erratic and we need to understand the story that lies behind every case study in order to provide a plausible narrative.

Long before the LBA, the whole of the ancient Near East and Egypt were interconnected. Observable cultural contacts reach at least as far as the 4th millennium BC. We shall outline only the history of the LBA (ca 1600–1150) but we must bear in mind that the first half of the 2nd millennium was also a turbulent time full of foreign interactions – e.g. by the end of the MBA, Hittite king Muršili I reached as far as Babylon.

16th century is often regarded as a "dark age" for the lack of sources. It also marks the division between the MBA and the LBA. During this century, the ancient Near East experienced an important technological development, namely the spread of martial engagement of horses and chariotry.[107] These technological improvements were probably imported through the Hurrians. Together with it, the cultural influence spread as well. This can be demonstrated on the use of the term *maryannu* – originally chariot warriors, which later became frequent expression denoting the elite social class. Many other terms relating to horses and chariotry with Indo-European roots were brought with it as well. This shows us that the Hurrians were rather only a transmitter of these innovations.[108] Also, glassmaking techniques spread across the region.

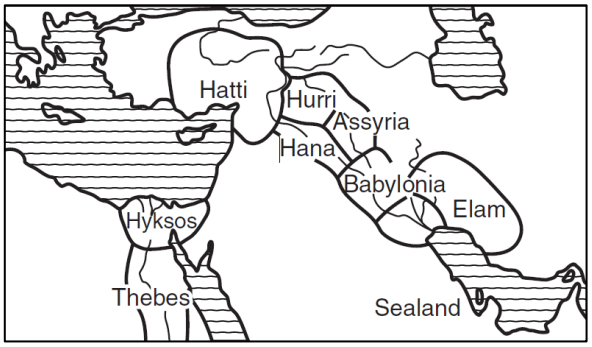

Figure 3: Map of the ancient Near East ca. 1600

The transition from the MBA to the LBA meant the end of independent city-states in the Syro-Palestine region. Henceforth the states ruled by *the small kings* (*šarru ṣiḫru*) were more or less tied to large entities with *the great kings* (*šarru rabû*).

The first "superpower" filling up the power vacuum in Syria was Mitanni. Already by the end of 17th century the sources mention Mitanni (also Ḫurri, Ḫanigalbat or Nahrina) and the Hurrians appear as a unified entity. The centre of this state was Waššukkanni (possibly modern Tell Fekheriye) in the Upper Mesopotamia. The eldest history of Mitanni is unfortunately largely unknown and general chronology is foggy at best. However, we know for sure that in the first half

[106] The following chapter is a brief summary of the political and technological development in the area, focused on the foreign relations. When necessary, further details shall be discussed with a case study requiring them. For further readings see Liverani, *The Ancient Near East*, Van de Mieroop, *Dějiny starověkého Blízkého východu, okolo 3000–323 př. Kr.,* Praha: Academia, 2010 and Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism*. For the history of Egypt see Van de Mieroop, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, Malden: WIley-Blackwell, 2011. As has been mentioned in the introduction, the dates are cited according to Liverani, *The Ancient Near East*. All dates are BC.

[107] These had already been used at the end of the 17th century by both sides of the Syro-Hittite war.

[108] Hurrian is not an Indo-European language.

of the 15th century king Barattarna ruled over the regions of the southern Anatolia (Kizzuwatna), northern Syria and Upper Mesopotamia as east as Nuzi and as south as Terqa.

From south, Mitanni was endangered by expanding Egyptians who defeated the Hyksos. Thutmosis I (1528–1510) claimed he had reached as far as the Euphrates, but the exploitation of the area was carried out rather through the threat of military involvement than direct control. During the reign of Thutmosis III (1468–1436) the regions of Palestine, Lebanon and southern Syria were subdued. For Egypt they constituted a source of wealth and a buffer against Mitanni at the same time.

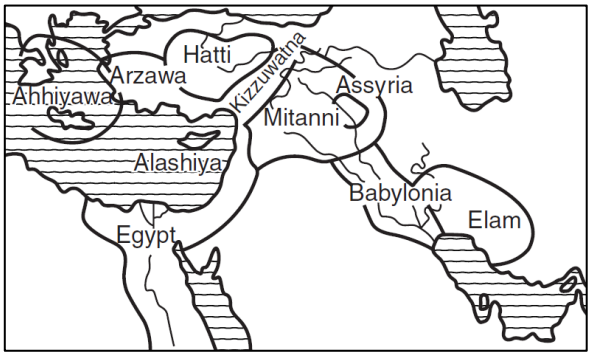

Figure 4: Map of the ancient Near East ca. 1450

At first, Mitannian rulers supported revolts of local vassal kings against Egypt but during the reigns of Amenhotep II (1436–1413) and Šauštatar Mitanni and Egypt opened diplomatic relations as allies. Several diplomatic marriages were concluded between Egyptian kings and Mitannian princesses. However, soon after, Mitanni had begun to experience inside quarrels for the rule. The situation was stabilized during the reign of Tušratta (ca. 1375–1350) who were in diplomatic contact with Amenhotep III (1402–1364) and Amenhotep IV – Aḫnaton (1364–1347). This period provides us with one of the most important sources for the study of international relations of the ancient Near East and Egypt – the Amarna archives.

By that time, Hittites under the reign of Šuppiluliuma (ca. 1370–1342) rose to power and had expanded to the south. Already his predecessors had managed to gain control over Kizzuwatna, thus intervening with Mitanni. At the same time, the eastern part of Mitanni was lost to the increasing Middle Assyrian kingdom under the rule of Aššur-Ubalit (1363–1328). These pressures gave rise to yet another quarrels inside Mitanni. Tušratta´s brother Artatama (II) became an anti-king and obtained the support of the Hittites. Artatama´s son Šuttarna III changed his loyalty to the emergent Assyria. His move did not please Šuppiluliuma who in response plundered the west of Mitanni and switched his support to the Tušratta´s son Kili-Tešub who managed to conquer the throne and became the king Šattiwaza. By that time, Mitanni had lost the control over the area of our interest. Nonetheless, Hurrian heritage remained influential in the forthcoming centuries.

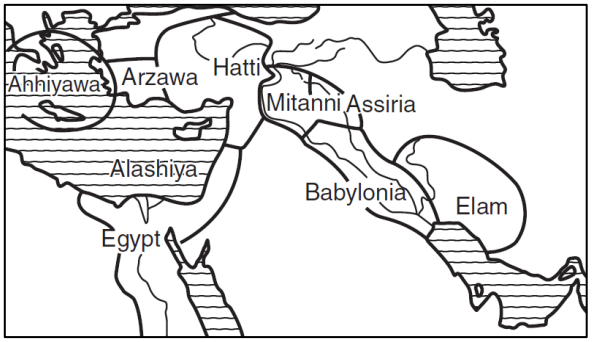

Figure 5: Map of the ancient Near East ca. 1350

The Hittite expanse to the regions of the northern Syria was helped by change of loyalties of Amurru which joined the Hittites. Thus, the northern Syrian states were pressured both from the north and the south and shortly after became the Hittite vassals themselves. The Hittites constituted two centres of administration over the northern Syria – Ḫalāb and Karkemiš. Karkemiš became the most important one regarding political administration whereas Ḫalāb was rather a religious centre. Šuppiluliuma installed his son Piyašili (ca 1345–1335) on the throne of Karkemiš. Piyašili acquired Hurrian name Šarri-Kušuḫ. Karkemiš swiftly became the most important state in the northern Syria and controlled vast territories.

Until the reigns of Sethi I (ca 1304–1290) and Ramses II (ca 1290–1224) the borders of Ḫatti and Egypt in the northern Syria remained relatively stable. These two rulers tried to expand the Egyptian territory at the expense of Ḫatti. This conflict had led to the famous battle of Qadeš were armies of Ramses II and Muwatalli (ca 1310–1280) clashed. Some fifteen years after the battle Ramses II and Ḫattušili III (ca 1275–1260) sealed a peace treaty (so-called *Silver Treaty*).

The system of hegemony of Egypt and Ḫatti over the ancient Syria ceased to exist shortly after the year 1200. The change is usually ascribed to the influx of so-called *Sea Peoples* and to a famine in Ḫatti which prevented any effective defence. The transition from the LBA to the IA had meant an end to the Ḫatti empire and to many cities in the ancient Syria, including Ugarit or Emar, while other cities (e.g. Byblos or Karkemiš) continued to exist. In the northern Syria so-called Syro-Hittite (Neo-Hittite) states filled the power vacuum.

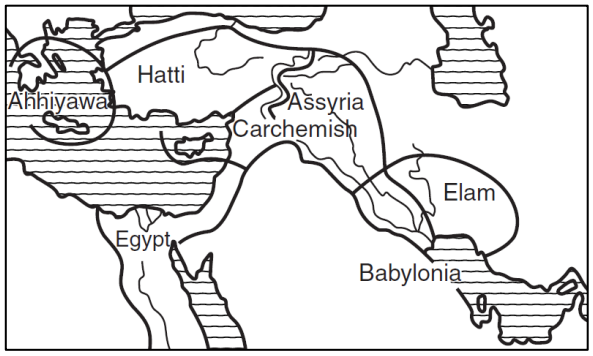

Figure 6: Map of the ancient Near East ca. 1220

3 Case studies

Following chapters deal with numerous case studies which are selected to provide us with a picture of many levels on which the cultural contacts manifested itself. The chosen approach aims both to describe the peculiarities of individual sites and to find similarities. The division of coastal and inland areas looks for a distinction which stems from different modes of contact and different interests of foreign powers.

3.1 Coastal areas

Cities and adjoined areas by the shore of Mediterranean were of great importance as they often served as harbours and international trade was carried out through them. Harbours also provided an alternative enter point to inland Syria.[109] Beside trade they, quite obviously, provided options for cultural contact in general, especially with Egypt, Mediterranean (mainly Cyprus and Crete) and Anatolia.

All the cities from south up to Ugarit were at some point either vassals of Egypt or were closely tied to it. Thutmose III had made an "agreement" with many of the coastal cities to support his merchants and soldiers if they needed to land.[110] Moreover, these cities payed *bꜣk* (a tribute from crop) and provided incense for Egyptian cults.[111] It seems it was during the reign of this pharaoh that Egyptian influence strengthened – the Egyptians had built many military and non-military structures (including the temple in Byblos) to help them uphold the infrastructure.[112]

Mitanni never truly got hold of any of the coastal areas, but its influence is sometimes observed. Hurrian heritage is quite paradoxically seen after the Mitanni power had declined. That is probably mostly because the Hittites promoted it. Since the reign of Šuppiluliuma I, Egypt had lost many of its vassals both inland and on the coast. However, this did not mean that Egypt ceased to influence these areas.

3.1.1 Ugarit

Ancient Ugarit provides us with plenty of evidence for the cultural contact and transfer. The site was scarcely truly independent, yet it seems it always managed to negotiate quite profitable conditions. Due to the importance of this site, we shall briefly outline its political history.[113]

After the destruction of Yamḫad by the Hittites, the void was gradually filled by Mitanni. It seems that Ugarit was never directly an Mitannian vassal, but diplomatic contact existed. From the reign of Amiṯtamru I (died ca. 1370) we possess first letter from Ugarit to Egypt (EA 45). This letter was addressed probably to Amenhotep III. Ugaritic ruler expressed his loyalty to the pharaoh, and

[109] The role of coastal areas in international communication was discussed e.g. in Sader, "Intertwined History: Lebanon's Role in the Transmission of Egyptian Culture to Inland Syria in the Middle Bronze Age", In: *QNBAG*, 117–126.
[110] Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism*, 124.
[111] Ibid., 125, 136.
[112] Ibid., 140.
[113] For a more detailed discussion on Ugaritic history, see Singer, "A Political History of Ugarit", especially 619–731.

we may conclude that the city had already been under the Egyptian sphere of influence, possibly a vassal.[114] During the reign of Niqmadu II (ca. 1370–1335) Ugarit participated in the communication with Aḫnaton and Tutanḫamon.

Šuppiluliuma´s expansion lead towards weakening the bond with Egypt and a letter from Ḫatti to Ugarit[115] suggests a peace treaty between the Hittites and Ugarit. Moreover, Ugarit´s southern neighbour Amurru revolted against Egypt and threatened Ugarit. That forced Niqmadu to seal a treaty of military "protection" provided by Amurru. Later, Ugarit was sacked by an anti-Hittite coalition of Mukiš, Nuḫḫašši and Niya and was "saved" by Hittite troops. This situation concluded in Niqmadu II entering the Hittite vassalage.[116] Not long after this Niqmepa (ca. 1332–1270) sealed an additional treaty with Muršili II, possibly after his predecessor Ar-Ḫalba (ca. 1335–1332) tried to revolt his Hittite overlords. With Niqmepa the Hittite rule stabilized. Anyhow, the Egyptian influence endured shifting loyalties of rulers of Ugarit. Beside the period around the battle of Qadeš, Ugarit did not break off the contact with Egypt. Thus, the city worked as an intermediary between Ḫatti and Egypt, too. This role was deepened after the *Silver Treaty* was sealed between Ḫattušili III and Ramses II.

Hittite rule in the northern Syria was mediated through Karkemiš and Ugarit was no exception – several treaties with Karkemiš are extant. Nonetheless, Ugarit maintained a high position and several disputes are communicated directly with the ruler of Ḫatti. As a Hittite vassal, Ugarit was obliged to support military campaigns of Hittite kings, but Ugarit usually rather chose to pay tributes than to send its troops.

Ugarit´s existence came to an end at the beginning of the 12th century BC. It was destroyed by the so-called "Sea Peoples". These troubled not only Ugarit but other coastal and even inland cities as well as Egypt and Ḫatti. The last known ruler of Ugarit is Ammurapi (ca. 1200–1182).

3.1.1.1 Hurrian

Although Ugarit was probably never a Mitannian vassal, the most important non-Semitic influence at Ugarit in the LBA was without a doubt Hurrian.[117] On the following pages we shall explore various instances through which we can observe the Ugaritic-Hurrian culture which flourished in the city.

According to Vita, there were about 50 Hurrian texts (including fragments) in syllabic cuneiform.[118] KTU identifies 21 Hurrian texts in alphabetical cuneiform, 7 possibly Hurrian texts in addition (these are too fragmentary to decide with certainty) and five which mix Hurrian and Ugaritic.[119] Most of the alphabetical texts were found in the so-called "House of a Hurrian Priest", including all those which mix Ugaritic and Hurrian. Another major spot was the "House of a High-

[114] However, question of vassalage is still disputed. See Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism*, 168–169.

[115] RS 17.132.

[116] Treaty RS 17.340.

[117] Vita, "The Society of Ugarit", 456–457 agrees with that suggestion.

[118] Vita, "Hurrian as a Living Language in Ugaritic Society", 219. Including references to these texts. Many of these texts were published in Ugaritica V, 230–2541 and 462–497.

[119] Hurrian texts: KTU 1.26, 1.30, 1.32+1.33, 1.35+1.36+1.37, 1.42, 1.44, 1.51, 1.52, 1.54, 1.59, 1.60, 1.64, 1.66, 1.68, 1.120, 1.125, 1.28, 1.131, 1.135, 1.149, 1.181.
Possible Hurrian texts: KTU 4.673, 7.5, 7.23, 7.24, 7.40, 7.42, 7.43.
Mixed Hurrian-Ugaritic texts: KTU 1.110, 1.111, 1.116, 1.132, 1.148.

priest" and two texts were found at the acropolis. Syllabic texts were scattered throughout the city but were not found at the same spots as the alphabetical texts.

Regarding genre of these texts, all the legible alphabetical texts seem to be of cultic use – incantations, lists of sacrifices, ritual prescriptions or hymns. On the contrary, the syllabic tablets contain two letters, one bilingual wisdom text and a large number of musical texts and lexical lists.[120] It is important to stress that apart from the musical texts and one letter, these were not purely Hurrian but a mix of Akkadian/Hurrian[121] or Sumerian-Akkadian-Hurrian(-Ugaritic).[122] Beside these texts, Hurrian strongly influenced Ugaritic – 97 words in Ugaritic vocabulary were identified as of Hurrian origin.[123] What is important is that during the time of the composition of the alphabetical texts, Mitanni was no longer of any importance.[124] This, obviously, does not mean that the Hurrians were not present at Ugarit – on the contrary, their presence is mentioned in KTU 1.40.[125] Firstly, we shall sum up scholarly discussion about Hurrian language and community at Ugarit up to now.

Vita suggest that Hurrian scribes were present at Ugarit as is seen in some scribal peculiarities (e.g. in personal names aḥrṭp instead of aḫršp, ʿbdyrġ instead of ʿbdyrḫ, ʿbdnt instead of ʿdbʿnt etc.). In his opinion, these shifts can only be explained by a scribe of non-Semitic language, probably Hurrian. Such shift occurred in some administrative texts, too. Because of that Vita suggest that some scribes of Hurrian origin were present and employed at Ugaritic court.[126] He concludes that Hurrian was (not like Akkadian) a living-language at Ugarit.[127] This agrees with proposition of Cohen who claims that Hurrian was spoken side by side Ugaritic and that Ugarit was a multilingual site.[128]

Contrary, there are suggestions that Hurrian was not a living language at the endo of the LBA. Dietrich and Mayer claim there was a Hurrian population which influenced the cult[129] but these influences were eliminated from the cult – e.g. by replacing deities in rituals or in incantations for Semitic ones. They also claim that Hurrian was already unintelligible during the time of composition of texts in the alphabetical script.[130] Claim that Hurrian was rather a cultic than a living language was suggested by Sanmartín, too.[131] These interpretation state that Hurrian was forced to

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[120] I have not been able to find solid dating of these tablets. Buccellati suggests the 13th century for the composition of the musical texts, see *Hurrian Song from Ugarit*: http://urkesh.org/urkeshpublic/music.htm [accessed 12th July 2019]. Kilmer, "The Cult Song with Music from Ancient Ugarit: Another Interpretation", *Revue D'Assyriologie Et D'archéologie Orientale* 68/1 (1974), 81 suggests dating around 1400 BC. Buccellati's suggestion agrees more with my interpretation but more detailed inquire is needed.

[121] The wisdom text RS 15.010 and the letter RS 23.031. See Dietrich and Mayer, "The Hurrian and Hittite Texts", in: Watson and Wyatt (eds.), *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, Leiden: Brill, 1999, 61 and van Soldt, *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit: Dating and Grammar*, Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1991, 364.

[122] The lexical lists. See Vita, "Hurrian as a Living Language in Ugaritic Society", 219.

[123] See Watson, *Lexical Studies in Ugaritic*, Barcelona: Sabadell, 2007, 124–135.

[124] The invention of the alphabetical cuneiform is dated to the 13th century BC, namely to the reign of Amiṯtamru II (ca. 1270–1230). For discussion and references see Tugendhaft, *Baal and the Politics of Poetry*, 30.

[125] This tablet is discussed below.

[126] See Vita, "Hurrian as a Living Language in Ugaritic Society", 225.

[127] Ibid., 227–228.

[128] Cohen, *Wisdom from the late Bronze Age,* 71.

[129] Dietrich and Mayer, "The Hurrian and Hittite Texts", 58.

[130] Ibid., 74.

[131] Sanmartín, "Sociedades y lenguas en el medio sirio-levantino del II milenio a.C.: Ugarit y lo hurrita", *Aula Orientalis* 17-18 (1999–2000), 121–123.

the spheres of cult and scribal curriculum[132] and that the Hurrian element was gradually decreasing as the Hittite pressure increased.[133]

I would suggest the other way around because the Hurrian element is attested well to the end of the existence of Ugarit and not so much before that. This could correspond with the reforms of Tudḫaliya IV.[134] I suggest that the Hurrian element in liturgical texts is rather an evidence of Hittite pressure than of the presence of the Hurrians at Ugarit. The situation should be compared to that of Emar where Hittite(-Hurrian) influence is gradually strengthened through the office of a *diviner*.[135] It is possible that a similar office was present at Ugarit, too. This issue will be briefly discussed below.

Van Soldt claims that the lack of Hittite texts in general shows little impact of Hittite culture on Ugarit.[136] On the other hand, he supports the claim that giving Hurrian names (in elite society) largely corresponds to similar trend in Ḫatti, Amurru or Karkemiš. In my opinion, this corresponds with suggestion that Hurrian influence is rather a masked Hittite influence. The presence of the Hurrians at Ugarit was rather a bonus which helped the promotion of these cults.

To conclude, few options are possible:

1) Hurrian cults are an influence of the Hittites who imposed their cults which were strongly Hurritized, or
2) the Hurrians were present at Ugarit at some of the cult was meant specifically for them, or
3) the tradition had its roots in Mitannian period and by chance cultic texts from that time did not survive (or were never written).

In my opinion the first option is the most probable. In the end, these options do not necessarily exclude each other.

Now, we should focus on several case studies which illustrate Hurrian influences.

3.1.1.1.1 Hurrian traits in Ugaritic ritual

Hurrian pantheon and rituals are attested mostly through tablets found in the "House of a Hurrian Priest" and "House of the High Priest".[137] These tablets were written in the alphabetical cuneiform which dates them to the 13th century BC. By that time, Ugarit was a vassal of Ḫatti.

In their composition, some of these texts do not differ from Ugaritic ritual texts. Their Hurrian grammar is not complex since they mostly enumerate deities and prescribe sacrifices for them. KTU 1.110 is used as an example:

1	aṯḫlm in ṯlnd	*aṯḫulumma*-sacrifice for *the* goddess Šala
	in atnd	for *the God–Father*
	ild . tṯbd	for Ilu, for Tešub
	kḏġd iwrn prznd	for Kušuḫ, for *the king of the (oracular) decisions*
5	kmrwnd	for *the* Kumarbi

[132] Vita, "Hurrian as a Living Language in Ugaritic Society", 222–224. See also Minunno, *Ritual Employs of Birds in Ancient Syria-Palestine*, Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2013, 127.

[133] Ibid., 120.

[134] Outlined in chapter 3.2.4.1.

[135] See chapter 3.2.4.2.

[136] Van Soldt, "Ugarit as a Hittite Vassal State", *Altorientalische Forschungen* 37 (2010), 206.

[137] See above.

	iyd . aṯtbd	for Ejja, for Aštabi
	ʿntd . ṯmgnd	for ʿAnat, for *the* Šimegi
	nkld	for Nikkal
	in ardnd	for *god of the city*
10	nbdgd	for Nubadig
	w pamt šbʿ	and (do this) seven times

This text is also an example of mixing Ugaritic and Hurrian side by side – the line 11 is in Ugaritic. Some parallels to Ugaritic ritual texts appear. *God–Father* (in at) is an exact equivalent to Ugaritic *God–Father* (ilib) who often appears on top of sacrificial lists. Also, KTU 1.110 (and other Hurrian texts) often mix deities of Ugaritic pantheon – such as the god Ilu (l. 3) or the goddess ʿAnat (l. 7). Interesting example is the goddess Nikkal (l. 8) who was an integral part of both pantheons, possibly independently. She was of Sumerian origin (NIN.GAL) and entered both Syrian and Hurrian pantheons formerly in history. Also, the god Ejja (l. 6) has a counterpart of the same origin in Ugaritic pantheon – Hejja (also named Koṯar-wa-Ḫasīs). Both are related to Mesopotamian god Ea.

On the other hand, KTU 1.42 provides us with a complex ritual with far more complicated structure and grammatical peculiarities.[138] This ritual is formed of 17 sections titled iḏr ḫḏr ḫḏlḏ + *divine name.* This phrase probably means "*may the gods be anointed by oil – namely divine name*".[139] Only divine name which is not Hurrian is ʿAnat (possibly ʿAnat of Amurru - ʿnt amr in l. 44) The tablet was found in the "House of a High Priest" at Ugaritic acropolis.

We should now briefly comment on the mixing of Hurrian and Ugaritic. KTU 1.110, 1.111, 1.116, 1.132 and 1.148 are the texts which include both Hurrian and Ugaritic vocabulary and grammar. An example of KTU 1.111, l. 5–7 should illustrate the situation well:

5	kḏġd in przn[d]	for Kušuḫ, for *the king of the (oracular) decisions*
	nkld . šrpm . ṣrm .	for Nikkal, two birds (as a) holocaust.
	ġdm . klhn . š l yrḫ	two kids for all of them, a ram for Yarīḫ

Whereas on lines 5 and 6 "for" is written in Hurrian as "-d" in case of Kušuḫ, *the king of the (oracular) decisions* and Nikkal, on line 7 "l" is used in case of Yarīḫ for the same expression. One could suggest that they used Hurrian grammar for Hurrian deities and Ugaritic for Semitic deities, but the evidence is not consistent in this regard.

Furthermore, these texts combine Ugaritic and Hurrian deities side by side and sometimes Hurrian deities appear in otherwise purely Ugaritic texts (e.g. KTU 1.115). This suggest that the two traditions gradually mixed and that their division was not strict. This should not come as a surprise as both the "House of a High Priest" and the "House of a Hurrian Priest" housed a large number of purely Ugaritic ritual texts, too. Thus, the same priests carried out both Ugaritic and Hurrian cults and sometime both at the same time.

[138] The latest and most thorough discussion was provided by Lam, "A Reassessment of the Alphabetic Hurrian Text RS 1.004 (KTU 1.42): A Ritual Anointing of Deities?", *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions*, 11 (2011), 148–169.
[139] Ibid., 156.

The Hurrian pantheon of Ugarit included following deities:[140] Šala (ṯl),[141] God-Father (in atn), Tešub (tṯb), Tešub of Ḫalāb (tṯb ḫlbġ), Kušuḫ (kḏġ, kzġ), *king of the (oracular) decisions* (irw przn), Kumarbi (kmrw/b), Šauška (ṯuṯk), in ḫmn, Ninitta (nnt), Kulitta (klt), Nubadig (nbdg), Ḫebat (ḫbt), šbdr, Daqit (dqt), Ḫudena (ḫdn), Ḫudellura (ḫdlr), ḫnnġ, tgn, Nikkal (nkl), Ib-Nikkal (ibnkl), Ejja (iy), Aštabi (aṯtb), Šimegi (ṯmg), *god of the city* (in ardn), tgrḫn, Pišašapḫi (pḏḏpḫ), Išḫara (išḫr), Alanni (aln), Kubaba (kbb), Adamma (adm), Dadmiš (ddmš) and Keldi (kld).

Olmo Lete also adds "in trḫn" and "in aṯtḫn" (KTU 1.42 l. 55) to the list. If he was right, in trḫn could be appearance of Hittite storm god Tarḫun. This would support the claim that the Hurrian influence only masks the Hittite influence. Unfortunately, this conclusion is far from certain. Lam suggest rendering these deities as *the male gods and the female gods*.[142]

Beside pantheon, Hurrian texts at Ugarit provide a sacrificial vocabulary. *Aṯḫulumma* (aṯḫlm) is possibly an equivalent to general Ugaritic term dbḥ - sacrifice. [143] Tzġ is of an unknown meaning as it appears in general context.[144] Ḫḏrġl is a hapax, possibly meaning "respect, obedience" and appears in otherwise purely Ugaritic text (KTU 1.105).[145] Of significance is also the term *keldi*, designating a *peace sacrifice*.[146] This corresponds with Ugaritic šlmm - a *peace offering*. Šlmm is often connected to šrp – a *holocaust*. I suggest this to be a Hittite influence of *ambašši* and *keldi* offerings – meaning a *holocaust* and a *peace offering*. This topic is more discussed in chapter 3.2.4.1 since these Hittite-Hurrian terms were used at Emar.

Furthermore, several Hurrian hymns and incantations were found at Ugarit,[147] in the same context as the Hurrian ritual texts. This suggest that these were used within these rituals. KTU 1.148 is a ritual tablet which contains a Hurrian hymn intermezzo. This suggests that other Hurrian hymns could have been a part of Ugaritic rituals, too.

In addition, a number of musical texts in Hurrian were found in the palace. These were written in the syllabic cuneiform and their connection to cult is without context. One of these musical texts, a hymn to goddess Nikkal, is available online in a modern reconstruction.[148]

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[140] List is accord to del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion According to the Liturgical Texts of Ugarit*, Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014, 63–66, with slight modifications.

[141] It is possible that this deity is rather "Goddess–Daughter" or "God of Daughters" as it appears as in ṯl and not ṯl alone.

[142] Lam, "A Reassessment of the Alphabetic Hurrian Text RS 1.004 (KTU 1.42)", 153–154.

[143] Merlo and Xella, "The Rituals", in: Watson and Wyatt (eds.), *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, Leiden: Brill, 1999, 293 and del Olmo Lete, "The Sacrificial Vocabulary at Ugarit", *Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici* 12 (1995), 43.

[144] Ibid., 43.

[145] Ibid., 45.

[146] Lam, "A Reassessment of the Alphabetic Hurrian Text RS 1.004 (KTU 1.42)", 163.

[147] KTU 1.44, 1.51, 1.54, 1.128 and 1.131. For a discussion on hymns and incantation at Ugarit see Spronk, "The Incantations", in: Watson and Wyatt (eds.), *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, Leiden: Brill, 1999, 270–286.

[148] See *Hurrian Song from Ugarit*: http://urkesh.org/urkeshpublic/music.htm [accessed 12th July 2019]. This recording is an outcome of the study Duchesne-Guillemin, *A Hurrian Musical Score from Ugarit: The Discovery of Mesopotamian Music*, Malibu: Undena Publications, 1984. See also Kilmer, "The Cult Song with Music from Ancient Ugarit".

3.1.1.1.2 "Hurrian Temple" and "House of a Hurrian Priest"

There was so-called "Hurrian Temple"[149] close to the palace. This designation is due to the object found within the structure[150] and it may not correspond to cults carried within. Some suggest it may have rather been a royal temple.[151] Interesting point regarding this building is a fact that it was not built as an axial temple but the entrance is on its side.[152] Similarity can be seen in the Ḫalābian temple of the local Storm-god where the reconstruction during the Hittite period changed the layout from axial to bent-axis.[153] This may suggest that the objects found within were of Hurrian style not by chance but because of this temple could indeed be a "(Hittite-)Hurrian temple" or built to imitate it. Possibly this temple could even host a Hurrian deity as can be deduced from the statues found there. However, more textual evidence is needed for a reasonable interpretation. The temple had a staircase and a tower.[154]

Figure 7 and Figure 8: Hurrian statues from Ugarit

Objects found within included a bronze statue (ca. 25 cm high) of a sitting female[155] and a statue of a standing man (ca. 20 cm).[156] Both possibly represent deities. These statues are considered Hurrian by the excavators.[157] Another finding was an axe with a lion and boar plastic decorations with possible Hurrian influences.[158]

The proximity of this temple to the palace connects it to the royal cult which was to a significant extent Hurritized (e.g. in KTU 1.111, l. 3 the king is said to carry out the *aṯḫulumma*-sacrifices). Also, we may suppose that the deities who were worshipped in the ritual texts discussed above had their shrines somewhere at Ugarit and this structure is a possible candidate for it.

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[149] Also known as "Sanctuary of the Hurrian Gods" (Merlo and Xella, "The Rituals", 302) or the "Temple with the Mitannian Axe" (Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra*, 49).

[150] Ibid., 49.

[151] E.g. ibid., 35.

[152] Ibid., 49.

[153] See chapter 3.2.3.1.

[154] Ibid., 49.

[155] Ibid., 133.

[156] Ugaritica I, 131.

[157] Ugaritica I, 128–140. Schaeffer's analysis contains similar statues found in Ḫattuša which support the claim of them being (Hittite)-Hurrian.s

[158] Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra*, 49, 166–167. She also suggests an Aegean influence for floral motives on the axe. For the Hurrian style analysis, see Ugaritica I, 108–125.

Another building is often named "House of a Hurrian Priest" due to the texts found within.[159] This house contained[160] about a dozen of Hurrian texts – hymns and lists of deities.[161] I have already suggested that at Ugarit there might have been a similar office to that of the *diviner* at Emar. An office which participated and supervised Hittite-Hurrian cults.

Unfortunately, there is a grave lack of evidence for any definite conclusions. Nonetheless, there are two indices which may (or may not) be of relevance. The first is a presence of various objects and texts related to divination in this house. The second is an attestation of a *diviner* (Ḫurr. prln) named Atenu[162] who was a teacher of Ilimilku, the scribe of Ugaritic epic and myth. There is a slight possibility that this office resided in this house. Hopefully, future research and excavations either prove or disprove this suggestion.

3.1.1.1.3 Epic of Kirta

A possible Hurrian influence may be seen in the epic of Kirta.[163] Kirta is a known Hurrian name and a ruler of Mitanni. Beside that he is told to be the ruler of Ḫābur (connection with the river Ḫābur in the area of Mitanni is hardy to be denied)[164] and his dreamed-of lady bears ethnonym Ḫurraya.[165]

KTU 1.16 I, l. 3 mentions a term "ap" which is by some scholars connected to a Hurrian cultic structure *abi/āpi*.[166] According to Dietrich and Loretz this suggest that the epic had already been old during its rendering at the LBA Ugarit because such structures were not archaeologically attested at Ugarit itself.[167]

Whatever was Ilimilku´s inspiration or motive, a Hurrian background is clear. There is a possibility that this is an epic tale which is set into a new habitat, just like the outline of Baʿal´s fight with Yamm is used in Egyptian Astarte papyrus.[168] However, no other version of the story has been excavated yet. This gives a possibility that the Hurrian background was rendered by Ilimilku himself

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[159] Alternate names are: "House of the Priest Containing Inscribed Livers and Lung Models", "House of the Magician-Priest" or "Annex Library of Medico-Magic and Literary Texts". See Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra*, 99–100.

[160] Apart from a larger number of cultic, medico-magic and mythological texts in Ugaritic, two in Akkadian, several models of livers and one model of lungs, 20-odd "objects linked to divinatory practices", musical instrument of Egyptian type, decorated mug, libation stand (?), and some pottery.

[161] See Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra*, 100 and van Soldt, "Private Archives at Ugarit", in: Bongenaar (ed.), *Interdependency of Institutions and Private Entrepreneurs. Proceedings of the Second MOS Symposium (Leiden 1998)*, Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 2000, 235–236.

[162] KTU 1.6 VI, l. 55 and KTU 1.17 VI, l. 56.

[163] KTU 1.14–1.16.

[164] This corresponds with interpretation of Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit: the Words of Ilimilku and His Colleagues*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002, 176–177.

[165] See Čech, "Epos o Kirtovi", in: Antalík, Čech, Mynářová and Dušek (eds.), *Na stezkách domu Baalova: Náboženské texty literární a kultické,* Praha: Oikoymenh, 2014, 93.

[166] Dietrich and Loretz, "Hunde im ap des königlichen ‚Mausoleums' nach dem ugaritischen Keret-Epos", in: Groddek and Rössle (eds.), *Šarnikzel: hethitologische Studien zum Gedenken an Emil Orgetorix Forrer (19.2.1894-10.1.1986)*, Dresden: Technische Universität Dresden, 2004, 253–262. See also a discussion in Sedláček, *Doklady raného náboženstva Churritov v starovekom Urkeši*, Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2017, 66–86.

[167] Dietrich and Loretz, "Hunde im ap des königlichen ‚Mausoleums' nach dem ugaritischen Keret-Epos", 260.

[168] pBN 202 and pAmherst 9. For the text and translation, see Collombert and Coulon, "Les dieux contre la mer. Le début du «papyrus d'Astarté» (pBN 202)", *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire* 100 (2000), 193–242.

and no "original" epic exists. Possibly its composition at Ugarit only corresponds to the overall trend of Hurrian cultural influence.

3.1.1.2 Egyptian

Egyptian influence has a long tradition at Ugarit. It seems that Ugarit hosted an Egyptian community. The Egyptians were not only high ranked persons – there are attestations of Egyptians working on palace farms and obtaining rations of food and clothing.[169] However, contrary to the Hurrian influences there are no Egyptian ritual texts and their influence is seen rather in art.

3.1.1.2.1 The Stele of Mami

One of the most important findings for our understanding of cultural contact is the so-called *Stele of Mami*. This artefact, probably a funerary stele,[170] was found in several pieces during the years 1929–1933 at the acropolis in the temple of Baʿal.[171] The stele shows us a worshipper – *the royal scribe, overseer of the royal domain,*[172] *Mami the justified*,[173] offering to the god *bʿr ḏʒpwnʒ*[174] – Baʿal of the Ṣapan Mountain. The god Baʿal is written with a seth-animal determinative,[175] which connects him in the eyes of Egyptians with the Egyptian deity Seth, the god whose physiognomy partially corresponds to Baʿal and who was a god of foreign countries.[176] Ṣapan is written with two determinatives: the throwing stick which denotes foreign people and mountains which denotes foreign countries.[177] This depiction of Baʿal is the only one known to be inscribed.[178] This is doubtless thanks to the Egyptian custom. The text which describes the scene is as follows:

> (1) [*Royal offering for Baal*]*-Zaphon, the great god, that He may give* (2) [*you life, power, health, love*], ⌜*honour*⌝, *joy and h*[*ap*]*pinness every* ⌜*day*⌝, (3) *(in order that you may) reach* ⌜*in*⌝ [*peace*] ⌜*the state of venerable*⌝. [*For the ka of the honoured of the*] *Good God, the beloved of the Lord of the Two Lands* (4) *thanks to* ⌜*his qualities*⌝, [...] *the efficient* [*who rejoices*] ⌜*the heart*⌝ *of his Master,* (5) *the royal* ⌜*scribe*⌝, ⌜*overseer*⌝ [...] *Mami, justified,* (6) *son of the dignitary, great scribe of* [*I...*].[179]

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[169] KTU 4.352, for discussion, see Vita, "The Society of Ugarit", 460.

[170] Levy, "A Fresh Look at the Baal-Zaphon Stele", *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 100 (2014), 293.

[171] The parts are 1.089+2.033+5.183, see Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra*, 134–135, Yon (ed.), *Arts et industries de la pierre*. RSO VI, Paris: ERC, 1991, 284–288 and Levy, "A Fresh Look at the Baal-Zaphon Stele" for more detailed information. The stele is currently displayed at the Louvre Museum (AO 13176).

[172] Cornelius, *The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Baʿal*, 152 renders this title as *overseer of the treasury*, reading *imj-rʒ pr n pr ḥḏ*. The translation which we follow reads *imj-rʒ pr n pr nswt*.

[173] The inscription above the deceased, see ibid., 152–153 and Levy, "A Fresh Look at the Baal-Zaphon Stele".

[174] The inscription above the deity, see Ibid., 152

[175] Ibid.

[176] For the discussion of their relationship, see e. g. Tazawa, *Syro-Palestinian Deities in New Kingdom Egypt*. I have discussed this topic in my contribution to RAI 64 proceedings. Unedited text of my contribution is added in the appendix (chapter 10.1).

[177] Cornelius, *The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Baʿal*, 152.

[178] Levy, "A Fresh Look at the Baal-Zaphon Stele", 295.

[179] Ibid., 297.

The stele is important as it shows us that foreigners who were in relation to the city of Ugarit could relate themselves to local deities. Unfortunately, to my knowledge we do not know anything else about Mami except what is written here. However, the stele is dated to the beginning of 19th dynasty[180] which means it was manufactured after Ugarit ceased to be an Egyptian vassal and pledged its loyalty to the Hittites.[181] The possibility that the stele was positioned in the temple during this period and remained in its place shows us that there might have been no need be hostile towards the Egyptians (at least on the level of symbolic actions of removing the funerary monuments) after the loyalties changed.[182] However, it may also be of the post-*Silver Treaty* time as by then the contacts of Egypt and Ugarit increased one again and ideological problems were largely removed.

Figure 9: The Stele of Mami

The material is of an Egyptian origin[183] but whether the object was manufactured in Egypt or in Ugarit or elsewhere is debatable though it is highly probable that it was manufactured by an Egyptian artist rather than a local one based on the stylistic evidence.

Another feature, which we have already encountered and which we will meet again, is the iconographic style that is obviously an Egyptian one but used on explicitly identified Syrian deity. This may speak for the importance of the territorial conception of deities. Although we know next to nothing about the person of Mami we may argue he was in a connection to Ugarit – possibly was stationed there maybe even died there. What else could motivate the action of rising up a funerary stele in a foreign city (recently fallen out of Mami's motherland vassalage) and for a foreign deity? It seems possible that Mami developed a special relationship to this deity. The reasons are by nature speculative but the most likely is to me the fact that Baʿal was the most important deity in the city and at the same time was connected to the Egyptian Seth – as the determinative used expresses. Thus, Baʿal was in the eyes of an Egyptian officer under the supervision of his own god of foreign lands and was protecting him in abroad and providing him divine contact with his home.[184]

If we may trust the reconstruction of the text, Mami worshipped a local deity but in an Egyptian manner. His motivations were the same as would be if he had erected this monument in Egypt itself. The ideas that behind the cult there is always a pharaoh, the offerings are for the *ka* of the deceased, the depiction of offering works as the offering itself and that the deceased wants to reach the *state of venerable* (becoming an *aḫ*) are overall Egyptian. We may state that at least in this

[180] Yon (ed.), *Arts et industries de la pierre*, 287–288 and Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra*, 135.

[181] This happened during the reign of Niqmadu II, shortly after the Amarna period. See Liverani, *The Ancient Near East*, 340–341.

[182] Contra the situation following the end the Middle Kingdom. With the beginning of the Hurrian hegemony, several Egyptian monuments from Ugarit were mutilated. See Ugaritica I, 15–25.

[183] Yon (ed.), *Arts et industries de la pierre*, 285 and Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra*, 135.

[184] Or as some would argue, for Mami, Baʿal Ṣapan was Seth or Seth-Baʿal.

case the foreigner lived (or rather died) in his home cosmological conceptions and at the same time related himself to a deity which implicitly belonged to foreign cosmological conceptions.[185] For now, it seems sufficient to point out the sphere where these cosmogonies overlap – polytheism, which allows foreign deities to exist, and once again the territoriality of deities that works with the need to be in closer contact with divine.

3.1.1.2.2 Foreign residency of Koṯar-wa-Ḫasīs

The relation to foreignness is visible also in the case of Koṯar-wa-Ḫasīs. In the Baʿal cycle, this deity is said to dwell in places called ḥkpt and kptr in Ugaritic, that is Memphis and Crete.[186] Here follows the translation of KTU 1.3 VI: 16–31, where the account of messengers heading to Koṯar-wa-Ḫasīs is preserved in fullest:

16	... b ym . rbt	... by the great sea,
	x[km]n . b nhrm	x[acr]e, by the river,
	[ʿ]br . gbl . ʿbr	cross Byblos, cross
	qʿl . ʿbr . iht	the summit, cross the islands
20	np . šmm . šmšr	of heavenly peaks. Ride,
	l dgy . aṯrt	O fisher of Aṯirat,
	mġ . l qdš . amrr	proceed, O Qadīš Amrar.
	idk . al . ttn	then, yes, set
	pnm . tk . ḥ{q}kpt	face towards Memphis,
25	il . klh . kptr	which is of one god, (to) Crete,
	ksu . ṯbth . ḥkpt	the throne where he sits, (to) Memphis,
	arṣ . nḥlth	the land of his heritage,
	b alp . šd . rbt	from thousand hectares, ten thousand
	kmn . l pʿn . kṯ<r>	acre, at the feet of Koṯa<r>
30	hbr . w ql . tštḥ	bow down and fall, prostrate
	wy . w kbd hwt	yourself and honour him.

What this placement of his dwelling means? What is clear right away, is that Memphis and Crete are not in the same are, not even close to each other. The idea is not of one (mythologized) place where the craft deity was said to dwell. The author of the Baʿal cycle, Ilimilku, was probably acquainted with the relative positions of Crete and Memphis.[187] Rather these places correspond to a mental mapping of the world.

Both Crete and Memphis were of special connection to the craftsmanship. Crete was in trade relations with Ugarit and the rest of the coast of Syria. Many crafts of Cretan provenience were found all around the country and the trade was by the time of composition of the Baʿal Cycle long

[185] On the other hand, by this time we could conceive Baʿal as a part of the Egyptian pantheon.

[186] In KTU 1.100: 45–46, he is once again mentioned as a resident of Crete. However, the translation of kptr as Crete is sometimes disputed. See DUL 448.

[187] This claim is based on Ilimilku being active diplomat. See Tugendhaft, *Baal and the Politics of Poetry*, 27–37.

established.[188] It seem that Cretans might have been considered excellent artist.[189] The art of foreign provenience seemed to enjoy special favours among the elite and was a subject of diplomatic gifts, along with precious materials. Cretan crafts were enough rare, exotic and of high quality, to be considered special, and a Cretan artist living in the Levant would have possibly been a rare exception of high value.[190] Still, there is a doubt whether they were present at Ugarit during the composition of Baʿal cycle.[191]

Egyptian Memphis, on the other hand, is possibly connected through the god Ptah, who was also considered to be the craftsman deity.[192] Also, Egyptian art seems to be of prestigious character. This is supported by evidence from other sites, too.

3.1.1.2.3 Prestige of Egyptian art

Egyptian art was a desired category. Possibly it was its *otherness* and *foreignness* which supported its demand. The most important textual evidence in this regard is a letter RS 88.2158 from Egypt to Ugarit. It is a reaction to a previous demand of Ugaritic king (probably Ibiranu)[193] who desired a statue of pharaoh (Merenptah) himself to put it into the temple of Baʿal. However, Merenptah responded negatively claiming that his craftsmen were busy at the time and promised a large number of luxurious gifts instead.[194] Unfortunately, before these artists made themselves available Ugarit ceased to exist. This letter is sent form Merenptah which dates it to the time when Ugarit was under a Hittite vassalage but also after the *Silver Treaty* was sealed. Because of that, such correspondence should not had cast any shadow on Ugarit´s loyalty.

This casts light on numerous statues of deities in Egyptian style which were found at Ugarit. Also, it corresponds with evidence from other sites. Manufacture of statues of deities in Egypt was not unique.[195] Furthermore, in Qaṭna, names of pharaohs are said to be put in front of the local sun deity.[196]

Were such demands made only because of the prestige of Egyptian art or were these statues somehow "more sacred" than those made at home? The presence of a statue/name of an Egyptian king in front of the deity inside the temple suggest that it was not only an artistic feature. On the

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[188] The trade, products, material and people are subject of written evidence already in the Amorite Mari. For the texts and translations, see e. g. Sørensen, "Approaching Levantine Shores: Aspects of Cretan Contacts with Western Asia during the MM-LM I Periods", *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens* VI (2009), 27–30. One text (ARM 23,556: 28–31) even mentions a Cretan of Ugarit.

[189] Sørensen, "Approaching Levantine Shores", 25–26.

[190] The exemption of taxes of a ship arriving from Crete, mentioned in a letter RS 16.238: 9–11, may be an example of this.

[191] Sørensen, "Approaching Levantine Shores", 34, interprets several texts (KTU 4.371: 17–18, KTU 4.760: 1, KTU 4.617: 20, 39) as mentions of Cretan residents. However, the word she translates as Cretan is in Ugaritic krty, by DUL interpreted as a personal name, which is quite possible, since this word only appears in compound bn krty (son of KRTY). More, Crete was always rendered with consonants k-p/b-t-r and not k-r-t(-y). None the less, the already mentioned text ARM 23,556 from Mari truly speaks of Cretan in Ugarit (although few hundred years before our case) and letter RS 16.238 informs us of a ship from Crete.

[192] Wilkinson, Richard, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*, London: Thames and Hudson, 2003, 124.

[193] Fisher, "Double Attribution in a Letter from Egypt to Ugarit (RS 88.2158)", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 130/4 (2010), 619.

[194] Singer, "A Political History of Ugarit", 709–710.

[195] See chapters 3.2.5 and 3.2.6.

[196] See chapter 3.2.6.

other hand, Egyptian influences are mostly of an artistic character and do not transmit cultic activities. I suggest that Egyptian art was in the first place prestigious and from it stemmed its sacredness. The presence of a *great king* in a temple had without a doubt its political value, too.[197]

At Ugarit several mutilated (beheaded or otherwise broken) statues dating to the Middle Kingdom were found.[198] A statue of Princess Ḫnumet is provided as an example (fig. 10).[199] Unfortunately, the dating of the mutilation is still disputed. In my opinion these mutilations did happen before or at the beginning of the LBA since such mutilations are not seen on the New kingdom art and the textual evidence suggest rather positive than negative approach towards the Egyptians.

Figure 10: Statue of Princess Ḫnumet

Not all the Egyptian art is necessarily connected to cult. E.g. a sword with a cartouche of Merenptah was found in a residential quarter and it may had been "only" a piece of art.[200] Furthermore, sometimes the objects are of local manufacture and only imitate the Egyptian style. This possibly supports the thesis of prestige of this style. Examples of Egyptian/Egyptianizing objects from Ugarit are given below:

Figure 14: Plaque of naked goddess, Minet el-Beidha

Figure 12: Plaque of naked goddess, Minet el-Beidha

Figure 11: Plaque of naked goddess, vicinity of Ugarit

Figure 13: Plaque of naked goddess, Minet el-Beidha

[197] For an elaborate discussion see Morris, "Egypt, Ugarit, the God Baʿal, and the Puzzle of a Royal Rebuff", in: Mynářová, Onderka and Pavúk (eds.), *There and Back Again – The Crossroads II: proceedings of an international conference held in Prague, September 15-18, 2014*, Prague: Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Arts, 2015, 315–351.

[198] Singer, "A Political History of Ugarit", 616.

[199] RS 3.336.

[200] RS 17.090, fig. 20. See Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra*, 68–169 and Cornelius, "The Iconography of Ugarit", in: Watson and Wyatt (eds.), *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, Leiden: Brill, 1999, 593.

Figure 17: Egyptianizing Ba'al, Ugarit

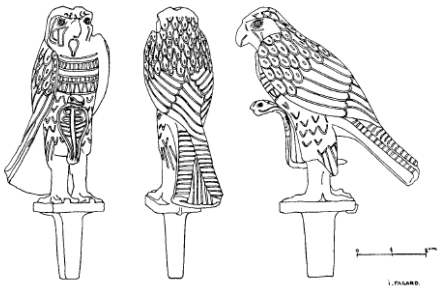

Figure 15: Egyptianizing Falcon, Minet el-Beidha

Figure 19: Scarab of Amenhotep II, Ugarit

Figure 16: Egyptianizing statue of Ilu, Ugarit

Figure 20: Egyptian swords with detail of cartouche of pharaoh Merenptah, Ugarit

Figure 21: Egyptianizing pendant with Rašap, Minet el-Beidha

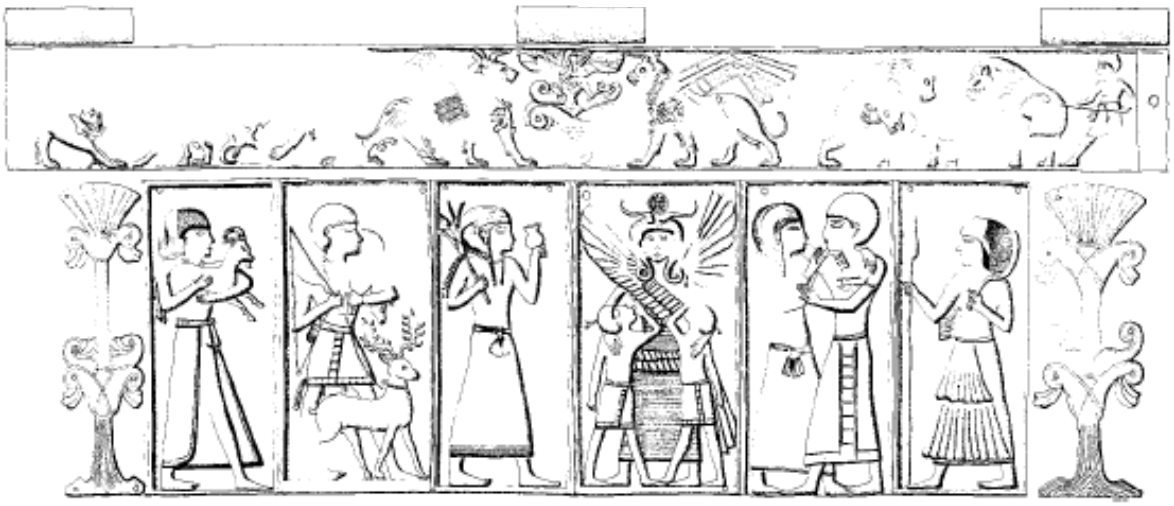

Figure 18: Bed panel of carved ivory with Egyptian motives, Ugarit

3.1.1.3 Hittite

Even though Ugarit was a Hittite vassal, texts in Hittite are not attested well there. Only a private legal document (RS 17.109) and a Sumerian literary text with translation into Akkadian and Hittite (RS 25.421) have been unearthed.[201] The pantheon of Ugarit did not include Hittite deities.

This possibly means that the influence was either carried through the Hurrian traits as I have suggested above. The possibility that the Hittites did not press their culture on vassal states would contradict the evidence from Emar where the influence is observable (see chapter 3.2.4.1).

Because of the lack of evidence, we shall only show several Hittite products unearthed at Ugarit. A ring bearing a Hittite hieroglyphs inscription (fig. 23) was found in a house which is now named after the name engraved on it – "House of Patilu-wa".[202] In the same house several Mycenaean craters were found, too.[203] Several stamp seals of Hittite rulers have been excavated. We present seals of Muršili II (fig. 24) and Muwatalli II (fig. 22). The inscription on the seal of Muršili contains the name of the storm god Manuzi.

Figure 24: Seal of Muršili II, Ugarit

Figure 22: Seal of Muwatalli II, Ugarit

Figure 23: Ring of Patilu-wa, Ugarit

3.1.1.4 Mediterranean

While discussing the foreign residency of Koṯar-wa-Ḫasīs[204] we have encountered the contact of Ugarit with the Mediterranean area. Numerous objects of Mediterranean provenance or imitations of Mediterranean style were found at Ugarit (mainly pottery). The contact flourished mostly with Cyprus (Alašiya). A model of livers mentions an acquisition of a young man from Cyprus[205] any some tablets form Ugarit suggest the city hosted a community of people from Mediterranean islands. Also, a Cypro-Minoan tablet has been excavated at Ugarit (fig. 25). Unfortunately, this script has not yet been deciphered and the meaning eludes us.

Figure 25: Cypro-Minoan tablet, Ugarit

[201] Dietrich and Mayer, "The Hurrian and Hittite Texts", 62.
[202] Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra*, 99.
[203] Ibid.
[204] See chapter 3.1.1.2.2.
[205] RS 24.312. See Pardee, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit*, 128.

We shall outline influences from the west of Ugarit using an example of a tomb from Ugaritic harbour Minet el-Beidha. No deities from Mediterranean are attested to my knowledge.

3.1.1.4.1 Aegeanizing tomb

A wealthy private tomb was found in Minet el-Beidha. This tomb was filled with Aegeanizing motives.[206] Feldman points out that the influence might have been carried rather individually – this could be a tomb of someone who was in contact with Aegean area.[207] One particular artefact can be chosen as an example – the well-known "Mistress of Animals" (fig. 25). Pfälzner notes that this piece of art was probably made by a local artist as the general composition of the scene is "*perfectly Levantine*" and the Aegeanizing motives ("*perfectly Mycenaean costume, hairstyle and sitting posture, and with an Aegean chair, or altar*") are copied with "mistakes".[208] Thus, the artistic style had been inspired by a foreign tradition, but carried out in a local style and by a local artist.

Figure 26: "Mistress of Animals", Ugarit

3.1.1.4.2 Mediterranean art products

Many other examples of art form the Mediterranean area are attested. It seems that the contact was mostly for the purpose of profit and prestige. Just as in the case of Egyptian art, the artistic value might had led to the cultic use of these objects. As an example, we may point out Mycenaean (figs. 27, 28) and Cypriote rhytons (fig. 29). I have suggested in my bachelor thesis that objects like these might had been used for ritual drinking such as in connection with *marziḥ*.[209]

Figure 27: Mycenaean rhyton, Ugarit

Figure 28: Mycenaean rhyton, Ugarit

Figure 29: Cypriot rhyton, Ugarit

[206] Feldman, "Qatna and Artistic Internationalism during the Late Bronze Age", in: *QNBAG*, 34.

[207] Ibid.

[208] Pfälzner, "The Art of Qatna and the Question of the 'International Style'", 190–191.

[209] Válek, *Kultické užití alkoholu v náboženství starověké Sýrie*, bachelor thesis, Praha: Charles University, 2017, 11–15. Similar claim was made by Yon, "The Temple of the Rhytons at Ugarit", in: Wyatt, Watson and Lloyd (eds.), *Ugarit, Religion and Culture: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Ugarit, Religion and Culture, Edinburgh, July 1994: Essays Presented in Honour of Professor John C. L. Gibson*, Münster:Ugarit-Verlag, 1996, 405–422.

3.1.1.5 Protégés of the walls of Ugarit

KTU 1.40 has already been mentioned while discussing the concept of foreignness in the ancient Near East. It is an important text as it shows that peaceful coexistence of a multicultural/national society was not effortless. Furthermore, KTU 1.40 is not the only extant version of this ritual which implies the rite was occasionally repeated.[210] Tablets with this ritual were found in the "House of a High Priest",[211] in the palace[212] and in the "House of a Hurrian Priest"[213] and were inscribed by different scribes.[214] The texts are not exact copies but variant versions.

The tablet is divided into six parts by a dividing line.[215] An interesting feature of this text is that sections alternate between masculine and feminine. In addition, sacrificial animals alternate, too. In sections III and IV a ram is sacrificed, in sections V and VI a donkey is. The first two sections are too fragmentary. Possibly a third species was sacrificed. The donkey is a strange sacrifice as it is not attested at Ugarit outside this text.[216]

This ritual is generally interpreted as aiming to calm frictions within a society[217] and I agree with this claim. Vita suggest the texts shows that the Hurrians had not yet been fully integrated during the reign of Niqmadu who is mentioned in l. 28′.[218] This claim is probably based on the now discarded dating of the alphabetical tablets to the reign of Niqmadu II and not the III. I suggest the text shows that no foreigner was fully integrated and the Ugaritians themselves felt frictions. The tablet aims to calm the mood regarding verbal insults among inhabitants but also offences against the gods.

Nonetheless, many questions remain unanswered so far. *How often was this ritual repeated – was it an annual ceremony or ad-hoc ritual in case of unbearable friction? Why are the sacrifices made for Ṯakiman-wa-Šanim? Why was a donkey sacrificed?* Unfortunately, I do not have any substantiated suggestions.

Lines 26′–34′ are translated here as an example since these are the best preserved. This is the sections in masculine where a donkey is sacrificed.

26′	w . šqrb . ʿr . mšr mšr. bn . ugrt . w np[y . gr . ḥmyt] ugr<t>	And let come near a donkey of exculpation: exculpation of a son of Ugarit and puri[fy the protégés of the walls of] Ugari<t>
	w npy yman . w npy . ʿrmt . w npy . x[...]	and purify Yamanian and purify ʿAramtian and purify x[...]

[210] See Pardee, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit*, 77–79.
[211] KTU 1.40. KTU also compares it with Hurrian KTU 1.54. The reason behind this comparison eludes me.
[212] KTU 1.84.
[213] KTU 1.121 and 1.122. These are severely damaged, and one might easily doubt the connection.
[214] Pardee, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit*, 78.
[215] Ibid., 79–80. The first three parts are very fragmentary and the division line between first and second part is a reconstruction.
[216] Donkey was scarcely sacrificed. The only other attestation in Syria is from Mari. See ibid., 112–113.
[217] E.g. ibid., 77–79, del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion According to the Liturgical Texts of Ugarit*, 49 or Vita, "The Society of Ugarit", 457.
[218] Ibid.

	w npy . nqmd . u šn . ypkm . u l p . q[ṭy . u l p . ddm]y	and purify Niqmaddu. If your dignity was defiled, whether by words of Qa[ṭiyan or by words of Didma]yan
	u l p . ḫry . u l p . ḫty . u l p . alty . u l[p . ġbr .] u l p	or by words of Hurrian or by words of Hittite or by words of Cyprian or by [words of Ġabiran] or by words of
30′	ḫbtkm . u l p . m[dl]lkm . u l p . qrzbl . u šn [.] ypkm	your pillagers or by words of your op[press]ors or by words of QRZBL. Or your dignity was defiled
	u b apkm . u b q[ṣ]rt . npškm . u b qṭt . tqṭṭ	whether by your anger or by your w[e]akness or by a disgracefulness with you should commit
	u šn . jpkm . l d[b]ḥm . w l .ṯʿ . dbḥn . ndbḥ . hw . ṯʿ nṯʿj .	or your dignity was defiled regarding the sac[ri]fices and regarding the *ṯaʿa*-sacrifice. (These) sacrifices we sacrifice, this *ṯaʿa*-sacrifice we sacrifice.
	hw . nkt . nkt . j[t]ši . l ab . bn . il . jtši . l dr	This (is) slaughtered. May the slaughter ri[se] up to the father of the sons of Ilu, may it rise up to the *Circle of the Sons of Ilu* <to the *Assembly of the Sons of Ilu*>, to Ṯakiman-wa-Šanim: here (is) a donkey.
	bn il . <l mpḫrt . bn . il> l ṯkmn [. w] šnm . hn . ʿr	

3.1.2 Amurru

Ugarit´s southern neighbour is to be discussed briefly.[219] As far as we know, Amurru was rather a decentralized political entity. This probably corresponds to a physical geography of its land which was formed of mountain ranges and only few cities. Such ambient attracted fugitives/outcasts (*ḫab/piru*) and shepherds. Sources suggest that one of these man, Abdi-Aširta (ca. 1400–1370),[220] rose to power and subdued this region. He reconstructed the city of Ṣumur after a destruction and took a role of an Egyptian delegate to rule over the province named Amurru of which Ṣumur was capital. At the same time, he paid tributes to Mitanni.[221]

Decline from Egypt occurred with end of Abdi-Aširta´s reign or with his successor Aziru (ca. 1370–1335).[222] Gradually, Amurru leaned towards the Hittites. With Šuppiluliuma´s victory, Amurru swiftly became a Hittite vassal.[223] This vassalage was only briefly interrupted by Benthešina´s (ca. 1300–1285) attempt to shift his loyalties to the Egyptians. His attempt was possibly one of the main cases which lead to the famous battle of Qadeš. Although he intrigued against the Hittites, he was reinstalled to his throne after Ḫattušili usurped the Hittite throne from Urḫi-Tešub. Since then, Amurru was closely tied by marriages to the Hittite royal family.

Through that connection the habit of taking up Hurrian names occurred in the royal family of Amurru. Aziru and his brothers bore West-Semitic names, but his successors bore (Hittite-) Hurrian names (DU-Tešub, Duppi-Tešub, Bentešina, Šaušgamuwa) Only one person appears with a Semitic name – Šab/pili who was installed on the throne after the battle of Qadeš. He probably did not belong to the ruling dynasty of Amurru.[224] There is a possibility that Aziru himself changed his

[219] For more details on history see Liverani, *The Ancient Near East*, 340–341.

[220] See EA 68, 71, 73, 74, 75, 79, 85, 87, 88, 90, 91, 94 and Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism*, 223–224.

[221] EA 86.

[222] See Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism*, 225–226, 235–236.

[223] See Singer, *The Calm before the Storm*, 253.

[224] Ibid., 254.

name to Abirrada[225] and his son DU-Tešub bore Semitic name (Beti'ilu) before the pledge of loyalty.[226] Giving of Hurrian names is a tradition comparable to the contemporary situation in Karkemiš, as discussed below (chapter 3.2.1.1), and is a product rather of the Hittite tradition than the earlier Mitannian influence. The situation at Amurru contrasts with Ugarit and Emar. This is due to the marriages between the courts of Amurru and Ḫatti which were quite common – not like at Ugarit[227] or Emar. The connection with marriages is obvious from the fact that this practice did not survive the Hittite period.[228]

Beside the Hittite cultural influence at the royal court, we may mention an Egyptian influence which took place before the Hittite acquired power at Amurru. Morris suggest[229] that this area hosted an Egyptian installation called *šn' n wdnw* ("Storehouse of Offerings") where sacrifices for Amun and Re-Horaḫty were carried out by the Egyptian army after a successful battle.

This corresponds with the overall notion[230] that the Egyptians in the ancient Syria mostly carried out their own cults for themselves, without interfering much with the locals (except for collecting tributes for these cults).[231] Anyhow, the case of the *Stele of Mami* from Ugarit suggests it was not necessarily always like this. In the following chapter, we shall discuss a case which shows the interactions with the Egyptians from yet another perspective.

3.1.3 Byblos

Already before the LBA, Byblos belonged to the sphere of Egyptian influence. It was characterized as a "God's Land" (*tꜣ nṯr*) which suggested far and exotic land close to the borders of the world. For the Egyptians Byblos was a foreign land but generally positive (or at least not negative).[232] Since the time of Thutmose III (ruled 1468–1436) it was annexed to the "empire". Its vassalage had not changed although some sources suggest that Aziru of Amurru might had pushed for a revolt of Byblos against its suzerain.[233] After Thutmose's conquest, Byblos had become ideologically a part of the Egyptian empire.

Regarding our topic, we shall explore the case of the Lady of Byblos and her temple. Other topics which could be discussed are e.g. the "Obelisk temple", various Egyptian products (scarabs, statues etc.) or Mycenaean pottery. Interactions of Byblos with Egypt were studied in detail by Kilani in his dissertation.[234]

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[225] Though this claim is far from certain. For discussion and other sources see ibid., 254.

[226] This is suggested by letters EA 161 and 170.

[227] Only the last ruler of Ugarit married a Hittite princess and he divorced her later. However, children of Niqmepa of Ugarit and his wife Aḫat-Milku of Amurru bore Hurrian names (Ḫišmi-Šarruma, ÌR-Šarruma), with an exception of the crown prince Amiṭṭamru see Singer, *The Calm before the Storm*, 254.

[228] Ibid., 255.

[229] See Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism*, 122–123 with reference to Urk. IV, 685: 13–16.

[230] Which I have obtained while writing this thesis.

[231] The case of Palestine was possibly quite different.

[232] For a discussion on changes in Egyptian cosmography see Kilani, "Between Geographical Imaginary and Geographical Reality: Byblos and the Limits of the World in the 18th Dynasty", in: Alvarez et al. (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2015 – Proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual Symposium, University of Oxford, United Kingdom 15–18 April 2015*, Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2016, 74–87.

[233] See Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism*, 244 and EA 142 and 162.

[234] Kilani, *Byblos in the Late Bronze Age*.

3.1.3.1 Hathor and the Lady of Byblos

The interactions between this city and its Egyptian suzerain are demonstrated well through an example of the Lady of Byblos and her connection with the Egyptian Hathor.[235] The Amarna correspondence supports the importance of these goddesses in the international trade and relations.[236]

The Lady of Byblos was venerated by the Egyptians, possibly as Hathor, since the Old Kingdom.[237] Thutmose III and Ramses II carried out works in her temple.[238] Ramses II called himself "*beloved of [some foreign deity]*" in relation to Byblos.[239]

The Lady of Byblos was known outside the royal context, too.[240] The inscription on the statue Turin 3036 (fig. 30) reads as follows: "*Hathor, Lady of Hetepet, Lady of Byblos, Mistress of Waw[at ...*".[241] Thus, it confirms the association of Hathor with the Lady of Byblos.

Some parallels with the Ugaritic *Stele of Mami* can be seen – a local deity was venerated by the Egyptian in their own way and was connected to a member of the Egyptian pantheon. In addition, Hathor was generally connected to foreign lands, just as Seth was.

Figure 30: Statue of the Lady of Byblos, Byblos

Relations carried through the institution of the temple probably had an ideological purpose. It allowed Egyptians to trade with a polity of inferior status. The trade was masked as an exchange of gifts for and from the Egyptian goddess.[242] Mario Liverani describes similar concept using an example of Hatshepsut ideological interpretation of trade with Punt:

> *The goddess has the name and personality of the Egyptian Hathor – an artificial convention applied to all countries supplying raw materials. By this means it transpires that the gift brought by the Egyptians have not really left the Egyptian orbit: they are offered to an Egyptian goddess who, because of her vastly irradiating power, can control these faraway lands.*[243]

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[235] On the translatability of deities see chapter 4.3.

[236] For a discussion and most important letters see Kilani, *Byblos in the Late Bronze Age*, 166–170.

[237] Ibid., 248. Later, Isis was connected to her as well. See ibid., 251 and Kilani, "Between Geographical Imaginary and Geographical Reality", 84. For the Old Kingdom interactions and importance of her temple in Byblos, see also Espinel, "The Role of the Temple of Ba'alat Gebal as Intermediary between Egypt and Byblos during the Old Kingdom", *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 30 (2002), 103–119.

[238] Kilani, *Byblos in the Late Bronze Age*, 131–132, 248 and Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism*, 360–361.

[239] KRI II 400: 7–11, see ibid., 361. The deity was written with a hill-country determinative which suggest its foreignness.

[240] E.g. statue Turin 3036, dated to 19th dynasty, possibly from Deir El-Medina, see Scandone Matthiae, "Una statuetta del Museo egizio di Torino con dedica ad Hathor signora di Biblo", *Rivista di studi fenici*, 1987 (15), 115–125. The Lady of Byblos appears also in papyrus BM EA 9997 + 10309, dated to the reign of Ramses XI, see Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri of the New Kingdom*, London: British Museum Press, 1999, 1 n. 1.

[241] Translation according to Kilani, *Byblos in the Late Bronze Age*, 206.

[242] Ibid., 249.

[243] Liverani, *International Relations in the Ancient Near East, 1600–1100 BC*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001, 168. He analyses reliefs of the walls of the second column-hall of Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri. For the discussion on

He also deals with our presented case. The chief treasures of Thutmose III, Sennefer, describes the trade with Byblos, masked as offerings for Hathor, in following terms:

> *[...] I entered the forest-preserve [...] I caused that there be presented to her (=Hathor) offerings of millions of things on behalf of his majesty [...] in Byblos, that I might give them to her lord for her heart's satisfaction [...] I brought away (timbers of) 60 cubits in their length [...] I brought them down from the highlands of God's Land. They reached as far as the forest-preserve [...] I sailed on the Great Green with a favourable breeze, landing in Egypt [...].*[244]

The temple of "Hathor" and other cultic places played an important role since they physically received these offerings.[245] However, it seems that during the LBA the trade went from trading with temples to trading with kings.[246] Kilani's suggestion is based on the distribution of scarabs. These were highly concentrated in the temples before and during the 18th dynasty but outside the temples after that time. This corresponds to the annexation of Byblos into the Egyptian empire and to the changes in the Egyptian cosmography. It was no longer necessary to mask the trade as offerings. With the vassalage, Byblos had lost its prestige and became only of many harbours with belonged to Egypt. This also corresponds to the later story of *Wenamun*[247] where the main protagonist deals directly with the king and the text does not mention the Lady of Byblos.[248]

Not surprisingly, while moving south the coast closer to Egypt and into its vassal states the evidence suggest that Egyptian influence rises. In the case of Byblos, straightforward connection of interactions with Egypt and cultic behaviour is seen. While in the north Egyptian products are mainly of prestigious character and because of it are connected to cult, in Byblos we may talk of an Egyptian cult for a local deity. Unfortunately, the lack of written sources does not allow us to explore to what extent there was a parallel Syrian cult and whether these two overlapped or were separated.

3.1.4 Coastal areas – summary

Culture of the Levantine coastal areas provides many examples of cultural contact and transfer, few of which we have explored in this thesis. Vast majority of evidence comes from the city of Ugarit as it provides various unique texts from the end of the LBA.

Direct influence of Mitanni is not observable in the material, but Hurrian elements survived the fall of this empire thanks to the Hittites. Curiously, in the coastal areas we lack any evidence for a presence of a cult of any Hittite deities. This is probably due to the incorporation of the Hurrian deities into the Hittite pantheon. This upgraded pantheon was then transferred into the Ugaritic cult. Any Hurrian presence at Ugarit was probably only a bonus for the incorporation of these deities and the incorporation of Hurrian elements into the Hittite religion is to be thanked. In Amurru, the intermarriages of the local royal family with the Hittite royal family had led to the giving of Hurrian names.

Hathor in connection with foreignness and trade of raw materials, see Giveon, *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan: Iconographical and Related Studies*, Freiburg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg, 1978, 61–67.

[244] Urk. IV, 535, see Liverani, *International Relations in the Ancient Near East*, 171, translation according to ANET, 243.

[245] Kilani, *Byblos in the Late Bronze Age*, 249.

[246] Ibid., 244–248.

[247] Papyrus Moscow 120. For translation see e.g. ANET, 25–29.

[248] Kilani, *Byblos in the Late Bronze Age*, 251.

The Egyptian domain was mainly south of Amurru, although their influence is observed in the north, too. The sources suggest that the Egyptians often maintained their own cult, for their own gods and did not interfere much with local cults. The situation at Byblos was rather an exception and it was made through classifying the local "Lady of Byblos" as Hathor. In the north, Egyptian art products were mostly regarded as luxurious items which had led to their use in the cult. The most important object in a temple cult – a deity's statue – could be of an Egyptian manufacture. Egyptian style was often simulated by local artists.

Coastal areas hosted several harbours that had enabled connections with the rest of the Mediterranean area. There is a plenty of archaeological evidence of products form Cyprus, Crete or other. These were regarded as prestigious items. Just like the Egyptian style, styles form this area were imitated by locals, too. No evidence for incorporation of any deity from the Mediterranean from the LBA is known to me.

Any foreign presence is a potential cause for trouble since friction and misunderstandings can appear. Such frictions, insults and cult offences were ritually dealt with at Ugarit. That such problems were reflected is suggested by the correspondence of Ṣidon with Ugarit, too.[249]

[249] See chapter 1.3.

3.2 Inland areas

Just as in the case of the coastal areas, the foreign (non-Semitic) influences in the inland Syria are mostly a matter of Mitanni, Ḫatti and Egypt. We shall observe that Mediterranean influences were not an exception of harbours but are attested inland, too.

The case studies are presented from north to south – from Karkemiš to Qaṭna. Although city of Qadeš is often mentioned (mostly in connection with battles), its relations to cultural influences is to be researched in the future since tablets form there has not yet been published.[250] For now, we may state that in Qadeš, Hurrian names in the royal line are attested contemporary with the Mitanni empire.[251] None the less, Qadeš has been left out of this thesis.

3.2.1 Karkemiš

The city of Karkemiš, which lies on the Euphrates river, played an important role in the process of cultural transfer, especially in the time of the Hittite New Kingdom. Its role is seen more in its political connotations than texts found within. Therefore, we need to point out several historical details.

Karkemiš existed already by the end of the 3rd millennium.[252] During this time, Karkemiš was probably a less important trading post on the Euphrates.[253] Broader cultural contact is demonstrated by a seal found in Acemhöyük in central Anatolia which mentions the name of the king of Karkemiš.[254] A historical fact related to our topic directly is a mention[255] of a daughter of king Aplaḫ-Anda who was a "high-priestess" (GÉME) of Kubaba – a tutelary deity of Karkemiš.

In the MBA Karkemiš was dragged into the turbulent political situation[256] and its loyalties often shifted. Babylonian campaigns of Ḫammurabi probably reached as far as Karkemiš. Soon after, the city was probably affected by the Syrian campaigns of the Hittites, but any detailed information is missing. After the death of Muršili, Karkemiš (and other Syrian cities) emancipated itself from the Hittites but the rising power of Mitanni soon acquired the area.[257] Unfortunately, sources from the following period are scarce.

From the Egyptian sources it seems that Thutmosis I and III reached as far as Karkemiš.[258] The land surrounding it was a subject of conflicts of Mitanni and Egypt. Nonetheless, Egyptian king

[250] Singer, *The Calm before the Storm*, 3. I have no information that the situation has changed since.
[251] See Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism*, 126. This is in contrast with the case of Amurru where the Hurrian names are a Hittite cultural influence (see chapter 3.1.2).
[252] Biga, "Karkemish in the Ebla Texts: Some New Data", in: Marchetti (ed.), *Karkemish: An Ancient Capital on the Euphrates,* Bologna: Ante Quem, 2014, 75 and 80.
[253] Ibid., 77–80 and Marchesi, "Karkemish nel Bronzo Medio", in: Marchetti (ed.), *Karkemish: An Ancient Capital on the Euphrates*, Bologna: Ante Quem, 2014, 81.
[254] Ibid., 82.
[255] MMA L 55.49.139. See Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period (2003-1595 BC)*, The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods 4, Toronto: University of Toronto, 1990, 774.
[256] See Marchesi, "Karkemish nel Bronzo Medio", 82–85.
[257] Ibid., 85.
[258] Zecchi, "Karkemish in the Egyptian Sources", in: Marchetti (ed.), *Karkemish: An Ancient Capital on the Euphrates*, Bologna: Ante Quem, 2014, 99–101.

had no intentions of ruling such a remote land[259] and Mitanni remained its suzerain. Karkemiš was not a subject of Amarna correspondence.[260]

The city was once again in the focus of the Hittites during the reign of Šuppiluliuma I. The (hi)story is recorded in the *Deeds of Šuppiluliuma*,[261] This time the conquest was severe, and the Hittites took a large war booty. However, the raid did not affect the temple of Kubaba as Šuppiluliuma did not allow it. He even came to the temple to pay a tribute to the goddess.[262] From the *Deeds*, it seems that the city was a strategic military and trade post and an important religious centre.[263] Šuppiluliuma included Karkemiš into the Hittite state and enthroned his son Piyašili there. Piyašili changed his name to a Hurrian one – Šarri-Kušuḫ.[264] His successors adopted this practice, too. The status of Karkemiš and its king was very high in the Hittite state administration during this period. It was comparable only to the status of Tarḫuntašša.[265]

The city worked as an administrator of affairs in Syria. Local kings also mediated conflicts among Syrian vassals or between vassals and the Hittite state. Commercial relations were supervised by Karkemiš, too.[266] After the battle of Qadeš and consolidation of Syrian affairs this city state broadly extended its subdued territories. These were a "gift" by Muršili II.[267] It remained a state subdued to the Hittite *Great Kings* as was demonstrated several times when these directly intervened against deeds of the local kings.[268] Karkemiš was an important player on the international level, too. It was directly involved in the makings of the *Silver Treaty* and it had its own diplomatic relations with Egypt.[269]

Karkemiš did survive the wave of the *Sea Peoples* and continued its existence after the Hittite empire ceased to exist. During the IA, Hittite and Hurrian heritage did not disappear, including the custom of giving Hurrian and Hittite names.[270]

3.2.1.1 Hurrian names

The first influence we shall outline is the practice of adopting Hurrian names by the kings of Karkemiš, who had been placed into their position by the Hittite kings. The first of them (Piyašili, ruled ca. 1345–1335) acquired name Šarri-Kušuḫ with the Hurrian lunar deity as a theophoric element. His successors employed the Hurrian storm deity most often (Ini-Tešub, Talmi-Tešub or Kuzi-Tešub).

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[259] This corresponds with the conception of Kilani who explored the changes of the Egyptian cosmography. See Kilani, "Between Geographical Imaginary and Geographical Reality". See also Zecchi, "Karkemish in the Egyptian Sources", 101.

[260] Ibid., 101.

[261] For the text (KUB 34.23 = KUB 40.8) and translation see del Monte, *Le Gesta di Suppiluliuma*, L'opera storiografica di Mursili II re di Hattusa, vol. 1. Pisa: Edizioni Plus, 2008.

[262] De Martino, "Il ruolo politico di Karkemish in Siria durante il perIodo imperIale ittita", in: Marchetti (ed.). *Karkemish: An Ancient Capital on the Euphrates*, Bologna: Ante Quem, 2014, 86.

[263] Ibid.

[264] Ibid., 86.

[265] Ibid., 88.

[266] For examples see ibid., 90–92.

[267] This was done, e. g. on the expense of Ugarit. See ibid., 89.

[268] Ibid.

[269] Ibid., 90.

[270] For a short summary see Hawkins and Peker, "Karkemish in the Iron Age", in: Marchetti (ed.), *Karkemish: An Ancient Capital on the Euphrates*, Bologna: Ante Quem, 2014, 107–110.

Martino claims quite reasonably that this practice might had been motivated by a large Hurrian population in Karkemiš and its cultural influence (the new king might had wanted to get closer to the local elite).[271] Although the custom of giving Hurrian names was not totally strange at the Hittite court, it was not a usual practice in the time of Šarri-Kušuḫ.[272] The case of Karkemiš might had influenced the practice in other Hittite vassal states bond by marriage to the Hittite royal court since the same practice is seen in Amurru shortly afterwards.[273] In addition, Hurrian names could had provided a sense of continuity with the Mitannian hegemony, but this would apply only to Karkemiš.

Beside the strong Hurrian population, there are probably other reasons for administering this practice, too. The first is without a doubt the Hittite interest in anything Hurrian. The influence of Hurrian religious concepts left a deep imprint in the Hittite culture. Often Hittite and Hurrian cannot be taken apart since the Hurrian traits were incorporated to such extent that we must set aside its origin.

The second reason could possibly be a relative position of Hittite and Hurrian. Hurrian names are most often given to those who are subordinated to the Hittite king (whether they are foreign kings or of lower statues at the court of Ḫattuša). However, this aspect remains a mere educated guess which requires more thorough exploration which is outside the scope of this thesis.

3.2.1.2 Hittite cult administration

The Hittites influenced the administration of cults in the northern Syria through appointing offices. Ruler of Karkemiš was appointed by the Hittite king and his role was not only to administer the vassal states – he was also a high priest of Karkemiš.[274] The role of Hittite administration of cults is best explored in the case of Emar where the *diviner* held this position.[275] We have encountered this problem at Ugarit, too.[276]

3.2.1.3 Kubaba

As has been mentioned above, in the MBA a daughter of Aplaḫ-Anda was told to be a *high-priestess* of Kubaba. The origin of this deity it still disputed. So far, the oldest attestation of the name is the *Sumerian King List* where she is said to be the queen of Kiš and is designated as an innkeeper.[277]

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[271] See de Martino, "Il ruolo politico di Karkemish in Siria durante il perIodo imperIale ittita", 87.

[272] The practice was active before (during the reigns of Tudḫaliya I, Arnuwanda, Tudḫaliya II and III) and became active once again during the reign of Ḫattušili III. See ibid. However, his claim is dubious as Ḫattušili's predecessor bore a Hurrian name Urḫi-Tešub.

[273] See chapter 3.1.2.

[274] Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*, Leiden: Brill, 1994, 578 and Taggar-Cohen, *Hittite Priesthood*, Heidelberg: Winter, 2006, 227.

[275] See chapter 3.2.4.2.

[276] See chapter 3.1.1.1.2.

[277] WB, l. 224–230.

Whether this queen has been an original source for Kubaba, Kubaba was a source for this queen or these two were completely independent remains to be explored. At any rate, Kubaba is a great example of culture transfer. It seems that Kubaba entered the Hittite cults when Šuppiluliuma I absorbed Karkemiš into his empire.[278] Probably thanks to the Hittites, Kubaba´s cult had spread over the empire, including Ugarit or Emar. Moreover, the case of culture transfer of this goddess goes on in the first millennium BC and AD when she fused with Phrygian goddess Cybele and her cult had spread across the classical world.[279] The figure shows a depiction of Kubaba from Karkemiš from the Late Hittite period (dated ca. 850–750 BC).

Figure 31: Relief of Kubaba, Karkemiš

In addition, Kubaba was not the only deity of a (possible) Sumerian origin which was important in Karkemiš. Its name Kār-Gamiš includes theophoric component Gamiš – a goddess of a (possible) Sumerian origin.[280]

3.2.2 Alalaḫ

3.2.2.1 Infrastructure

The city of Alalaḫ provides us with yet another mode of cultural influences – that of an infrastructure. At the beginning of the LBA the city was spatially reorganized several times due to severe destructions[281] and the new planning of palaces was influenced by Mitannian hegemony. This concluded in discontinuity.[282] On the contrary, reconstructions of temples provide a sense of dynamical continuity. Fink has discussed broadly the change in the construction of Alalaḫ temples on levels IV to 0 (ca. 1450–1185 BC).[283] He concludes that temples at Alalaḫ on these levels reflected on each other, reused foundations, but also added annexes.[284] The most notable change was a construction of "Paluwa shrine"[285] on level IA (ca. 1240–1210 BC) which had a different orientation than other temples at this site.[286] However, this shrine was later destroyed and a last temple of Alalaḫ had taken its place.[287] Also, podia in temples gradually changed their position to the south-west.[288]

I suggest comparing this situation with that at Ḫalāb (chapter 3.2.3.1) where a more compelling evidence and discussion is provided. The shift in orientation of podia and the "Paluwa shrine" may be consistent with the Hittite influence on the cultic structures. It seems that the Hittites

[278] Bryce, "History", in: Melchert (ed.), *The Luwians*, Leiden: Brill, 2003, 100.
[279] Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*, 408–409. On the other hand, Hutter, "Aspects of Luwian Religion", in: Melchert (ed.), *The Luwians*, Leiden: Brill, 2003, 272–273 problematizes this fusion.
[280] Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*, 578. However, Semitic etymology and origin have been suggested, too.
[281] On levels VII and IV.
[282] See Heinz, "The Spatial Heritage of Alalakh".
[283] Fink, *Late Bronze Age Tell Atchana (Alalakh)*, 31–60.
[284] Ibid., 49.
[285] Named after a seal inscribed with this name. He was possibly a Hittite governor of Alalaḫ (DUMU.LUGAL), see ibid., 44, 55–56, 120.
[286] Ibid., 49.
[287] Ibid., 49.
[288] Ibid., 40.

participated actively in (re)constructions of the temples.[289] A more thorough discussion is needed to confirm this suggestion and to outline the process in any detail. Also, a problem arises with Fink's conclusion that the site ceased to exist as a city around 1320/1313 BC and since then was used rather as a Hittite fortress. Thus, general conclusions about the change in Syrian religion is problematized since the site ceased to be a Syrian city but became a Hittite stronghold.[290]

The reflection of an original architecture of temples is an important hint for us, especially in contrast to the palace infrastructure. This suggest that in the case of a sacral building there was possibly a greater respect towards its site.[291]

3.2.2.2 Hurrian and Hittite cults

Beside the architecture, cultic influences are observable at Alalaḫ, too. Alalaḫ tablets mention several deities of Hurrian and (Hurrian-)Hittite origin. These include Kušuḫ, Tešub, Išḫara or Ḫebat.[292] Their appearance is not frequent. However, it might often be concealed by the use of ideograms.[293] As theophoric elements in personal names other deities are attested, too.[294] Some depictions of these deities were present, too. A terracotta plaque of Šauška in the Hittite style has been unearthed at Alalaḫ (fig. 32).[295]

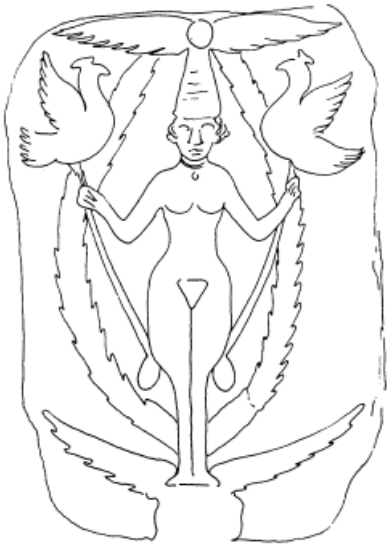

Figure 32: Plaque of Šauška, Alalaḫ

AT 454 is a Hittite oracular tablet which mentions an offence against the gods which calls for a change in cultic behaviour. The tablet mentions use of a special kind of birds (MUŠEN *ḫurri*) for oracles. Unfortunately, the tablet is rather damaged, and its general sense eludes us. Considering the discussion on Alalaḫ temples, this text was rather by the Hittites for themselves. The mention of birds corresponds to practices often connected with Hurrian influence both in Syria and Ḫatti.[296] Moreover an *ušandu* is attested at Alalaḫ – an office which probably oversaw breeding of birds raised for divinatory practices. In Ḫatti this term designates not only a fowler but also a bird diviner in general.[297]

Although this city was a Mitannian vassal for a long time[298] and we have mentioned the constructions of palaces by Mitanni, most of the cultic influences are dated after the Hittites had conquered it.[299] None the less, this is probably to be attributed to the lack of sources since a Hurrian

[289] Probably the first temple constructed under Hittite supervision was level II temple "shortly" after the conquest of Alalaḫ by Šuppiluliuma I. See ibid., 52.
[290] Ibid., 136–137 and 143.
[291] Just as during the conquest of Karkemiš when Šuppiluliuma I spared the temple of Kubaba.
[292] Hurrian origin of Ḫebat and Išḫara is still discussed.
[293] Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets*, London: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1953, 17.
[294] Ibid. These are e.g. Kupi, Kubaba, Namni, Šanta, Šauška, Tila, Niqma, Darru or TIŠPAK.
[295] See Alexander, "Šaušga and the Hittite Ivory from Megido," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 50/3 (1991), 168–169. The plaque is dated to the level III (ca. 1351/41–1320/1313 BC).
[296] See chapter 3.2.4.1.
[297] Minunno, *Ritual Employs of Birds in Ancient Syria-Palestine*, 90.
[298] Famous Idrimi was a vassal of Barattarna.
[299] Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets,* 17.

influence is also observable in AT 126. This tablet dates to the reign of Yarim-Līm[300] (18th/17th century BC) and thus falls out of our timeline. We use it only to point out the connection with the Hurrians at a time when the city was subdued to Yamḫad. Also, the tablet provides a sense of continuity in the influences as it provides an evidence for an abundant sacrifice of birds (in thousands of pieces) and a reference to *keldi* (peace) sacrifice.[301] Other Hurrian vocabulary is used in this text, e.g. terms for vessels or a sacrifice *azazḫu* which is by some scholars connected to the scapegoat sacrifice in the Bible, which is in this light seen as a Hurrian-Hittite influence.[302]

In addition, some Mycenaean pottery was found at Alalaḫ[303] just as at other sites included in our study. This topic is discussed most broadly in relation to Qaṭna (chapter 3.2.6.1).

3.2.3 Ḫalāb

The city of Ḫalāb was once a powerful centre of Yamḫad. During the expansion of Mitanni in the 15th century it became its vassal. It endured the pressure of Šuppiluliuma´s campaigns longer than Amurru or Ugarit but in the end it succumbed, too. Šuppiluliuma installed his son Telipinu[304] on the throne of Ḫalāb and it became a second (the first being Karkemiš) centre of the Hittite administration in the northern Syria. The city was an important religious centre because it hosted one of the most prestigious deities in ancient Syria – *The Storm-god of Ḫalāb*. Gradually the significance of Ḫalāb had decreased in contrast to Karkemiš.[305]

3.2.3.1 The Storm-god of Ḫalāb and foreign cults

Our case study shall focus on the temple of *The Storm-god of Ḫalāb*. This deity will be discussed more in relation to the translatability of deities (chapter 4.3) since he appears at many sites with various names. Kohlmeyer explored the historical evolution of his temple at Ḫalāb. His conclusions are of great importance for our topic.[306]

The temple had stood at Ḫalāb at least since the mid-3rd millennium BC and it is mentioned in Eblaite tablets. [307] Its importance had risen with the expansion of the Yamḫad empire. During the MBA the temple was destroyed at least two times.[308] After its reconstruction the structure included an above-ground floor (or floors)[309] and was comparable to that of Ugarit. During the LBA the

[300] Not to be confused with the rulers of the same name in Yamḫad. See Liverani, *The Ancient Near East*, 233–234.
[301] Discussed in chapter 3.2.4.1.
[302] See e.g. Weinfeld, "Traces of Hittite Cult in Shiloh, Bethel and in Jerusalem", in: Janowski, Koch and Wilhelm (eds.), *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament: Internationales Symposion Hamburg 17.–21. März 1990*, Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1993, 456, Gurney, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977, 47–52 or Janowski and Wilhelm, "Der Bock, der die Sünden hinausträgt: Zur Religionsgeschichte des Azazel-Ritus Lev 16,10.21f", in: Janowski, Koch and Wilhelm (eds.), *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament: Internationales Symposion Hamburg 17.–21. März 1990*, Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1993, 109–170.
[303] Fink, *Late Bronze Age Tell Atchana (Alalakh)*, 135–137.
[304] In this case his name is of a Hattian origin.
[305] See Singer, *The Calm before the Storm*, 7–8.
[306] For a full study see Kohlmeyer, *Der Tempel des Wettergottes von Aleppo* or a shorter article Kohlmeyer, "The Temple of the Storm God in Aleppo".
[307] Ibid., 191.
[308] Ibid., 194.
[309] Ibid.

repute of the storm-god reached Ḫattuša where he was venerated as a form of Tešub together with his consort Ḫebat.[310] The MBA structure was burned down and the temple was renovated by the Hittites.[311]

The renovation had taken place mainly during the turn of the 14th/13th centuries and the Hittite influence was strong. Original plain walls had been decorated with reliefs in the Hittite style, the northern wall had been strengthened (from 10 m to 13.4 m), and the disposition of the temple had been modified from the direct alignment to a "bent-axis" scheme.[312] A "pedestal wall" had been constructed by the northern wall and decorated with reliefs. These date mostly from the IA but several LBA survived (fig. 33).[313] According to Kohlmeyer these show traces of mixed "North Syrian Hittite" tradition together with Hurrian-Mitannian influence.[314]

Figure 35: Relief of *The Storm-god of Ḫalāb*, Ḫalāb

Figure 36: Relief of king Taita, Ḫalāb

Figure 33: Relief of a winged animal, Ḫalāb

Figure 34: Relief of a "bull-man" and a fake window, Ḫalāb

The temple hosted a large relief of *The Storm-god of Ḫalāb* which is dated to the LBA renovation (fig. 35). It is facing a relief of king Taita who had erected it during the 11th century (fig. 36).[315] The deity is identified positively by the Luwian inscription. The Storm-god is manufactured in typically Hittite style.[316] These reliefs are by the eastern wall which corresponds with the change of temple´s orientation.

[310] Ibid., 191.
[311] Ibid., 194.
[312] Ibid.
[313] Ibid., 195.
[314] Ibid.
[315] Ibid.
[316] However, his pose is typical of storm deities throughout the ancient Near East.

Both before and after the Hittite Empire period, the orientation of temples in Syria was mostly to the north and the statue faced the entrance (direct alignment). Contrary, the Hittites did not have the entrance facing the representation of a deity, but the deity was placed at a right angle to the entrance (the "bent-axis" scheme).

Other reliefs correspond to the Hittite influences, too. Bull-men (fig. 34) are similar to those form Yazilikaya but their heads in Yazilikaya are more triangular and without beards.[317] Best similarities are on the "Hittite Ivory Plaque from Megiddo".[318] The Hittites had employed Mesopotamina motifs, too. A "fish genius" (*apkallu*; fig. 37) was probably made by a Mesopotamian artist.[319] Also, the Hittites used windows in their temples. False windows reliefs (fig. 34) are probably an imitation of those.[320]

Figure 37: Relief of *apkallu*, Ḫalāb

An interesting comparison may be provided with the Baʿal Cycle from Ugarit. In KTU 1.4 VI, l. 1–15 Baʿal instructs Koṯar-wa-Ḫasīs not to install windows into his palace and later in KTU 1.4 VII, l. 14–31 he reverses his decision and the windows are installed. Possibly, this reflects the dominion of Ḫatti over Ugarit and their influence. This would correspond with Tugendhaft´s suggestion that the Ugaritic myth reflected critically upon the political situation.[321]

3.2.4 Emar

Emar was established long before the LBA and it had already been mentioned in Ebla and Mari texts.[322] Just like other cities in the northern Syria, Emar was included in the Mitannian sphere of influence during the 15th century. At the end of the 14th century, Emar (together with the rest of the land of Aštata) entered the Hittite sphere of influence, effectively becoming a part of the Hittite empire.[323] Unfortunately, the texts in Hurrian and Hittite from Emar still remain largely unpublished.[324]

Regarding Emar, an interesting distinction of a *Syrian* and *Syro-Hittite* styles (of cuneiform texts) appears. These are recognizable easily even by sight since the shapes of tablets and sealings are different.[325] Distinguishing features are further observed in palaeography, language and phrasing.[326] During the inclusion of Emar into the Hittite empire a transition from local tradition (*Syrian*) to

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[317] Ibid.

[318] See Alexander, "Šaušga and the Hittite Ivory from Megido".

[319] Kohlmeyer, "The Temple of the Storm God in Aleppo", 195.

[320] Ibid., 195.

[321] See Tugendhaft, *Baal and the Politics of Poetry*.

[322] Michel, "Private Religious Life in Emar and the Hittite Empire", 204.

[323] Ibid.

[324] Dietrich and Mayer, "The Hurrian and Hittite Texts", 75. Unfortunately, the situation did not change in the last 20 years. Six Hittite texts were published by Salvini and Trémouille in SMEA-45. For the discussion on the archives of Emar, see Beckman, "Emar and Its Archives".

[325] Faist, "Scribal Traditions and Administration at Emar", in: Cohen, d´Alfonso and Sürenhagen (eds.), *The City of Emar among the Late Bronze Age Empires: History, Landscape, and Society*, Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2008, 195.

[326] Ibid. with references for further reading. Démare-Lafont, "The King and the Diviner at Emar", in: Cohen, d´Alfonso and Sürenhagen (eds.), *The City of Emar among the Late Bronze Age Empires: History, Landscape, and Society,* Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2008, 207 suggest division of formalism (*Syrian*) and amorphism (*Syro-Hittie*).

new style (*Syro-Hittite*) occurred.[327] Style of cuneiform differed slightly according to the language used (Akkadian, Sumerian, Hurrian or Hittite) and the Hittite hieroglyphs were often used on various kinds of seals.[328]

Majority of tablets from building M_1[329] were written in the *Syro-Hittite* style.[330] It is possible that the *diviners*[331] produced only tablets in the *Syro-Hittite* style.[332] This supports the claim of the interconnection of this office with the Hittite administration.[333] Hittite oracle reports from M_1 suggest that diviners of Emar were strongly influenced by the Hittite tradition.[334] Interesting is that these reports were found at the diviner's home since reports from other times and places were usually found in the possession of a client and not the professional.[335]

3.2.4.1 Hittite and Hurrian pantheon and cult in Emar ritual

The city of Emar (together with Ugarit) provides us with the majority of ritual texts from the LBA Syria. Thanks to the Hittite influence and cult administration, these ritual tablets mention a number of Hurrian and Hittite deities. Although the format of the tablets differs from those of Ugarit, they all represent a similar phenomenon. Emar and Ugarit shows us that the Hurrian influence in Syrian regions should be regarded rather as a Hittite influence.

Beckman[336] summarises Hittite and Hurrian deities as follows: Allani, Allatu, Ḫapantali, ^{d}IŠKUR (who can stand for any storm deity, e.g. Tešub or Tarḫunt, and appears with numerous Hurrian/Hittite epithets, e.g. *pudallimmi, piḫaimmi* or *ḫapaimmi*), ^{d}IŠTAR (who can stand for any goddess of similar character, e.g. Šauška), Keldi, Madi, Nawarni, Šalaš, Šanda, Šarrumma, Šeliš, Šuwala, Tašmišu, Tenu, ^{d}UTU (who can stand for any solar deity, e.g. Šimegi or Ištanu), ^{d}XXX (who can stand for any lunar deity, e.g. Kušuḫ or Arma). In addition, Beckman adds these deities which are rather of West-Semitic origin in my opinion: Adam(ma), Adam(ma)terra/i, Immar(n)i.

That these deities were regarded as a foreign element is suggested e.g. by the incipit of tablet *Emar* 471 which reads: *ṭup-pu pár-ṣi ša* DINGIR^{MEŠ} KUR *Ḫa-at-ti* = "The tablet of ceremonies for the gods of Ḫatti". Michel rightly poses the question of origin of rituals for the gods of Ḫatti – were the

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[327] Ibid. and Rutz, *Bodies of Knowledge in Ancient Mesopotamia: The Diviners of Late Bronze Age Emar and Their Tablet Collection*, Leiden: Brill, 2013, 314–316.

[328] Ibid., 323.

[329] Often called *Temple of the Diviner*. This building was probably an archive, library and school of the Zū-Ba'la family. This family held the office called *diviner* which will be discussed below in this chapter. For a discussion on the building, see e.g. Fleming, *Time at Emar*, 35–42 who holds the opinion of M_1 being a temple, or Rutz, *Bodies of Knowledge in Ancient Mesopotamia*, 303–304 who opts for not-temple and with whom I agree.

[330] Ibid., 316. This poses a problem for proper distinguishing of all features of Syrian and Syro-Hittite styles in as the comparison is not carried on equal terms, see Faist, "Scribal Traditions and Administration at Emar", 195–196. She also notes that the proportion of styles differs according to types of documents. For administrative documents Syro-Hittite style was used more often whereas for legal documents it is the other way around.

[331] See chapter 3.2.4.2.

[332] Yamada, "The Family of Zū-Ba'La The Diviner and the Hittites", in: Izre'el, Singer and Zadok (eds.). *Past Links. Studies in the Languages and Cultures of the Ancient Near East*, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1998, 323–334 and Faist, "Scribal Traditions and Administration at Emar", 196.

[333] For the Hittite cult administration see e.g. Cohen, "The Administration of Cult in Hittite Emar", *Altorientalische Forschungen* 38 (2011), 145–157.

[334] Rutz, *Bodies of Knowledge in Ancient Mesopotamia*, 320.

[335] Ibid., 320.

[336] Beckman, "The Pantheon of Emar". He provides references to their attestations, too.

texts from Emar translations of Hittite originals? He suggests similarities with Hittite cultic vocabulary on an example of expressions "to eat and drink" and "to break bread".[337] An important document of Hittite provenance describes possible direct influence on the cultic practice in Aštata:

> *In regard to the sins against the deity which were established, they have been re-addressed. When they go to the SANGA-priest, as they themselves lead the SANGA-priest to Aštata, (and) once they come (over there), they will set in order the rituals of the deity.*[338]

This text suggests that in some cases, the cultic practice was rearranged according to the customs of the Hittites – this time for a reason of a sins which resulted in an illness of the Ḫattian King.[339] This also corresponds with similar situations in other cultic centres of the northern Syria and other parts of the periphery of the Hittite empire where the Hittite administration appointed its cult functionaries.[340]

A letter which mentions *Hittite deities* (DINGIR^{MEŠ} *Ḫat-ti*) describes a situation in which a boy had to make an offering to them:

> *In the morning send your son to feed the Hittite deities! Don't make him late! The beer should not go stale! Concerning the carpenter about whom you wrote me, I sent him to you.*[341]

The situation described unfortunately lacks more information which would explain why exactly it had to be the *Hittite deities* and not some other. Nonetheless, it possibly informs us about a situation in which these deities were already an active part of the local pantheon, although their foreign origin was pointed out.

Beside Hurrian and Hittite members of the pantheon, we may observe some cultic acts which may had been of a Hurrian origin. We shall explore this on the example of *ambašši* and *keldi* offerings. Cultic ordines for six months include this description: *They burn at the Hurrian temple*[342] *one sheep from the nuppuḫannū (man).*[343] Strangely, it is commented on by Fleming: "*The practice of burning birds is distinctly Hurrian, and the verb šarāpu is particularly associated with Hittite ritual at Emar.*"[344] Burning birds appear in the same text on line 99 and also in *Emar* 475: 1′, 3′, 5′, *Emar* 486: 3′ and *Emar* 463: 20′. In *(ḫ)išuwa* festival from Ḫattuša a following passage appears: "*When they sacrifice a bird for the goddess Išḫara as a burning offering and a male-goat as an offering for the well-*

[337] Michel, "Private Religious Life in Emar and the Hittite Empire", 205 and Michel, "Hittite Cults in Emar", 509. Although this seems not enough a reason to me as drinking and eating are by definition a part of a feast and feasting is a common component of many cultic occasions. Breaking a bread is a little more specific.
[338] KUB 5, 6 i 38′–43′, translation according to Michel, "Private Religious Life in Emar and the Hittite Empire", 206.
[339] Ibid., 205.
[340] See Taggar-Cohen, *Hittite Priesthood*, 226–28.
[341] *Emar* 271: 1′–10′, translation according to Michel, "Private Religious Life in Emar and the Hittite Empire", 203.
[342] This designation is not without problems. See Fleming, *Time at Emar*, 275 and 280.
[343] *Emar* 446: 91–92.
[344] Fleming, *Time at Emar*, 280.

being..."[345] *Burning offering* (*ambašši*) and *offering for the well-being* (*keldi*) appear in Emar texts, too.[346] However, not always is the burning offering described as *ambašši* or with verb *šarāpu*. Expression *ikalū išatū* "consumed by fire"[347] or verb *qalû* "to roast, burn"[348] appear in this context, too. Furthermore, the parallel with Ugaritic šrp and šlm is stiking and it is not without reason to suppose that in Ugarit this appeared under the Hittite influence, too. The evidence from Emar supports the claim that Hurrian cult at Ugarit was rather a Hittite-Hurrian cult. We have also encountered this Hurrian vocabulary at Alalaḫ.[349]

It is hard to affirm the claim of Michel[350] that in *Emar* 446: 99 the phrase "*they fill the cups*" is Hurrian because KUB 25, 23 obv. i 6′ reads: "*they fill the rhytons*". In my opinion drinking belong to feasting and thus filling cups/rhytons/drinking horns/drinking bowls etc. may be found in many cultures independently. Nonetheless, the fact that some texts mention this act explicitly must not be put aside as cultic texts often do not mention "obvious" acts. Thus, to *fill the cups* may indeed be a Hittite-Hurrian influence.

The worship of sacred mountains in Emar may be due to the Hittite influence, too. Local texts mention Anatolian mountains – Mt. Šinapši,[351] Mt. Ṣuparatu,[352] Mt Ḫaḫarwa[353] or Mt Zaliyanu.[354] Another influence may be seen in blood unction (practiced e.g. on the standing stones, *sikkānu*, during the *Zukru* festival[355]) as it was practiced in Kizzuwatna, too. This may be a south Anatolian/north Syrian custom.[356]

As was stated before, purely Hurrian and Hittite texts from Emar remain unpublished to this date. Nonetheless, Akkadian texts provide enough evidence for a broad influence from Anatolia. It consisted not only in worshipping foreign deities but also in cultic acts and organization of cults. According to the Hittites, deities had to be worshipped in a Hittite way.[357] This was even more stressed after Tudḫaliya′s IV cultic reorganizations. According to Michel[358] this reorganization consisted mostly of replacing standing stones by theriomorphic images, symbols or anthropomorphic images.[359] The reform was probably motivated by an effort to standardize cult

[345] KUB 32, 128 verso i 26–27, translation according to Michel, "Private Religious Life in Emar and the Hittite Empire", 207.

[346] E.g. *Emar* 471: 33: *a-na am-ba-aš-ši ú-šar-ra-pu* "...they burn for the *ambašši*.". Interestingly, in this ritual beer and wine are burned.

[347] *Emar* 471: 25 and *Emar* 472: 73′.

[348] *Emar* 373: 37, 63.

[349] See chapter 3.2.2.2.

[350] Michel, "Private Religious Life in Emar and the Hittite Empire", 206.

[351] *Emar* 452: 6.

[352] *Emar* 446: 29.

[353] *Emar* 472: 44′.

[354] *Emar* 472: 44′.

[355] *Emar* 373: 34, 60, 167. For text, translation and commentary, see Fleming, *Time at Emar*.

[356] For discussion see Michel, "Private Religious Life in Emar and the Hittite Empire", 208.

[357] See KUB 5.6 iii 3–7. See Michel, "Hittite Cults in Emar", 510.

[358] Michel, "Private Religious Life in Emar and the Hittite Empire", 204. With reference to Hazenbos, *The Organization of the Anatolian Local Cults During the Thirteenth Century B.C.: An appraisal of the Hittite Cult Inventories*, Leiden: Brill, 2003.

[359] However, the standing stones as an object of cult were still present at many sites, Emar included.

throughout the entire "Empire".[360] Regarding organization of the Hittite cults, one office is of a special interest to us – the *diviner*.

3.2.4.2 The *diviner*

The *diviner* (the full title is ^{LÚ}ḪAL *ša* DINGIR.MEŠ *ša* URU^{KI} – *diviner of the gods of the town*)[361] was involved in various festivals – such as the *Zukru* or installations of priestesses. He probably followed instructions of the Hittites relating to the organization of cults in a Hittite way.[362] The *diviner* was stationed in the building M_1 which was an important centre of scribal training and thus of transmitting knowledge and culture.[363] The building was also an archive which contained more than a thousand of tablets of various contents and languages.[364] It seems that the *diviner* must have been a very educated person capable of communication in several languages and trained in many specializations (divination, law, medicine etc.).

The *diviner* was probably put into his office by the Hittite administration as the Hittites were interested in the divination of the Babylonian style as it applied both to the political and judicial spheres.[365] Emar was known for these practices and that is possibly why they chose to establish this office there.[366] The family who obtained this office was Zū-Baʿla, Adda-Mālik possibly being the first to held it.[367] The office was also a subject of an international correspondence: Zū-Baʿla, person after whom the family is named, complained to the Hittite king that he was compelled to pay taxes and to do corvée-work.[368] The office was on several instances inherited through adoption and approved by the king of Karkemiš – thus being under the control of the Hittite administration. However, it seems that the adoption was not obligatory as few of the *diviners* were sons of the previous ones and the king of Karkemiš did not have to approve those.[369]

The office functioned as an intermediary between the Hittite administration and local rulers – the king and the *elders*.[370] His role was that of a superintendent of cults and transmission of tradition.[371] Strangely enough, the divination itself does not seem to be attributed to this office or at least not primarily.[372]

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[360] Michel, "Private Religious Life in Emar and the Hittite Empire", 208.

[361] Sometimes, ^{LÚ}ḪAL is changed for MÁŠ.ŠU.GÍD.GÍD.

[362] See Prechel, "Hethitische Rituale in Emar?" and Faist, "Scribal Traditions and Administration at Emar", 200–201.

[363] Fleming, *Time at Emar*, 26–29 and Démare-Lafont, "The King and the Diviner at Emar".

[364] Ibid., 213.

[365] Ibid., 214. The office existed before but was more focused on the divination alone and not on the political functioning of the city. See ibid., 216.

[366] Ibid., 214.

[367] Ibid., 214.

[368] SMEA-45 1. The quarrel was widely discussed by Céntola, "Royal Justice or Realpolitik?: The Diviner Zū-Baʿla and the Hittites Once Again". *Antiguo Oriente* 15 (2017), 195–222.

[369] Démare-Lafont, "The King and the Diviner at Emar", 214–216. The pressure of Karkemiš on religious life at Emar is seen e.g. in *Emar* 268 which informs us about installing clergy at a local temple.

[370] Ibid., 216.

[371] Fleming, *Time at Emar*, 26.

[372] Ibid., 28 and 34–35. He calls this office "The Diviner Who Does Not Divine". Contra his suggestion see Rutz, *Bodies of Knowledge in Ancient Mesopotamia*, 319–321.

3.2.5 Tunip

A short excurse over several sources related to Tunip shows us that the tradition of acquiring Hurrian names was not established by the Hittites. We have already mentioned that the same happened in Qadeš. A Treaty between Tunip and Alalaḫ was sealed under the authority of the Mitannian king (called "King of the Hurrian troops" = LUGAL ÉRIN^{MEŠ} *Ḫurri*) to whom both cities were subdued.[373] The name of the king of Tunip, Ir-Tešub, reveals the Hurrian influence.[374] He was not the only ruler of Tunip who had acquired a Hurrian name.[375]

An interesting evidence is provided by a letter EA 59 which records the end of Mitannian hegemony due to the Hittite pressure. In this letter *the sons of the city of Tunip* write to Egypt in hope to be included into the Egyptian empire. They substantiate their requirement by claim that since the time of Thutmose III "his deities" and "his statue(?)" were located in the city of Tunip (possibly at the local temple). This corresponds with the evidence we have already encountered elsewhere.[376]

3.2.6 Qaṭna

Qaṭna was an important trade centre in the LBA and long before.[377] During the time of the Mitannian hegemony, Hurrian was probably used as a language of communication.[378] By the time Qaṭna fell out of the Mitannian influence, its ruler Akizzi tried to enter the Egyptian sphere and not that of the Hittites. We have witnessed the same in the case of Tunip.[379] Akizzi proudly proclaims his (and his ancestors') loyalty to the Amenhotep IV (Aḫnaton) in face of the attacks of its neighbouring states and the Hittites.[380] In a letter EA 55 he complains that the king of Ḫatti looted the city and had taken away *the gods and the elite of the c[ity of Qat]na*.[381] He asked the pharaoh to pay the ransom demanded for their return.

The most important information for us is by the end of the letter. Here Akizzi talks about local sun god and how names of Amenhotep's ancestors were put before the deity. Unfortunately, as the deity was taken hostage by the Hittites, this practice was no longer possible. The text also suggests that former statues of the sun god had been made by pharaohs and thus Amenhotep should do the same.[382] Strangely, on the following lines he already talks like the statue is back and he asks the pharaoh only to furnish and adorn it.

The situation described here corresponds with the situation discussed in the case of Ugarit or Tunip where the local rulers asked for a statue manufacture from Egypt.[383] Contra the discussion which follows below, it seems that this time Egyptian art was desired not only for its artistic value. Sun god is of special relevance to the Egypt and especially Aḫnaton and in the first line of the letter, pharaoh is addressed as a son of the sun god. Also, the mention of practice of putting the names of

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[373] AT 2. See de Martino "Mittanian Hegemony in Western and Central Syria", 26.

[374] In Alalaḫ tablets his name appears with an ideogram ^{d}IM. The reading of Tešub instead of Adad was discussed by von Dassow, *State and Society in the Late Bronze Age: Alalaḫ Under the Mittani Empire,* Bethesda: CDL Press, 2008, 51–53.

[375] E.g. EA 59 mentions king Aki-Tešub.

[376] See chapters 3.1.1.2.3 and 3.2.6.

[377] Klengel, "Qatna and International Trade in the Second Millennium BC", in: *QNBAG*, 65–68.

[378] See Vita, "Hurrian as a Living Language in Ugaritic Society", 226.

[379] See chapter 3.2.5.

[380] EA 52, 53, 55, 56.

[381] EA 55: 42–43.

[382] EA 55: 53–59.

[383] See chapters 3.1.1.2.3 and 3.2.5.

pharaohs in front of the deity suggest deeper religious connotations. This may be due to the proximity of Qaṭna to the Egyptian sphere of influence and to the desire to be included under Egypt rather than Ḫatti. Other material suggests rather an aesthetic and prestigious value of Egyptian products or Egyptian-style inspired products.

3.2.6.1 Royal tomb of Qaṭna

In a royal tomb in Qaṭna there were found many objects inspired by the Hittite-Mitannian, north Mesopotamian, north Syrian, Egyptian or Caucasus styles but probably mainly of local production.[384] These products are a part of Feldman´s argument that there was no "international style" in Syria but that in every case various influences entered into the production and the outcoming style was always unique.[385] The context of a royal burial possibly points to high status of foreign (and foreign-style inspired) objects.

Figure 38: Egyptianizing plaque of Hathor, Qaṭna

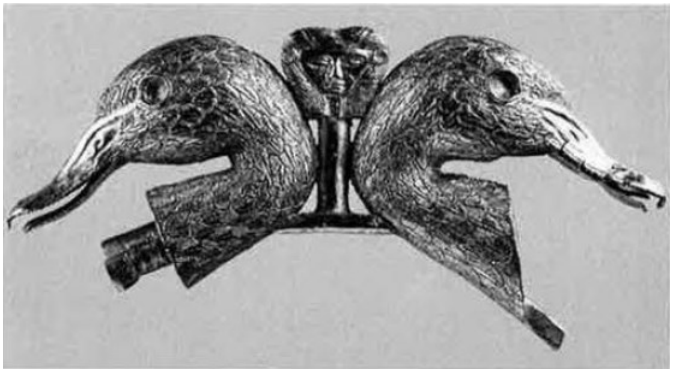

Figure 39: Vessel attachment with duck heads and Hathor head, Qaṭna

In this tomb a vessel attachment with Hathor head between duck heads has been found (fig. 39).[386] Aside the head of Hathor, the duck heads are a motif of an Egyptian origin, too.[387] Aruz provides us with another depiction of Hathor from the same tomb which is of distinctly local style – this time the motif was only an inspiration for a local artist (fig. 38).[388] The borrowing of the Egyptian style are observable in many other objects, too. E.g. a seal impression from Palace (Room K) bears a motif of a sphinx wearing the double crown. The overall style, however, remains Syrian.[389] It seems that in the case of Egyptian (and other foreign) motifs the motivation for incorporation was rather of aesthetic and prestigious than of primarily cultic character.[390] It was the power of their prestige that

[384] Feldman, "Qatna and Artistic Internationalism during the Late Bronze Age", 35–38.
[385] The same is argued by Pfälzner, "The Art of Qatna and the Question of the 'International Style'".
[386] Aruz, "Styles of Interaction in Ancient Syria", 45.
[387] Ibid., 45–46, photos of the same motifs from Egypt are included.
[388] Ibid., 46.
[389] Ibid., 46–47. Similar motif was used already in the Mari age.
[390] See ibid., 48 or Boschlos, "A Scarab of Amenhotep III in Qatna's Lower City Palace", in: *QNBAG*, 380. The same trend was observed at Ugarit and later at Phoenicians. The situation at Byblos seems quite different.

motivated their use in ritual as is also suggested by their constant movement – the objects were given to the dead and later taken back for reuse in other contexts.[391]

Aruz comments also on motifs of Aegean (especially Minoan and Mycenaean) inspiration – those of animal combats.[392] These are of prestigious and aesthetic character, too. Such motifs were spread throughout the ancient Near East and Egypt.[393]

Qaṭna also provides us with wall paintings from the royal palace. These were obviously inspired by the Aegean tradition and techniques. Once again, the inspiration was not overall, and a hand of a Syrian artist is evident. Local artists seem only to adapt and not completely follow Aegean conventions.[394] It seems justified to connect this example to the previous discussion on the foreign residency of the archetypal artist Koṯar-wa-Ḫasīs from Ugarit.[395]

3.2.7 Inland areas - summary

Although all the discussed areas were at some point included into the Mitannian empire, its influence is not seen clearly. Their influence must have been grater that the sources themselves suggest since the contact with the Hurrians (who in addition mediated contact with more remote cultures) influenced technologically the whole of the ancient Near East and Egypt.[396] Hopefully, additional sources regarding religion and culture will come into light in the future.

The Hittite influences are those that are seen most. Through them the Hurrian culture remained vital and had spread across the northern Syria. The Hittite influence inland is comparable to that on the coastal areas. The Hittites administered not only economy and diplomacy in the northern Syria, but religion as well. They actively interfered with the temple infrastructure (at Alalaḫ or Ḫalāb) and administered local cults to fit their schemes (the best example being office of the *diviner* at Emar). The Hittite influence survived after the fall of Ḫatti since the northern Syria was then filled by so-called Syro-Hittite (Neo-Hittite) states. Furthermore, the Hittite influence on local cults did not stop at the north and reached far south.[397]

Not surprisingly, Egyptian influence was felt most in the southern regions. Although Egyptian art was considered mostly as a matter of prestige and was imitated by local artists, in several cases direct cultic connotations are seen. Temples in Tunip and Qaṭna possibly hosted statues of an Egyptian manufacture or even of Egyptian deities. Placing a statue or name of a pharaoh was probably highly valued.

An artistic influence from the Mediterranean area is comparable to that of the coastal cities. However, the frequency of such objects declines further into the inland.

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[391] See Roßberg, "Why Gold is not Forever: Giving and Taking of Jewellery in the Royal Tomb of Qatna", in: *QNBAG*, 229–237.

[392] Aruz, "Styles of Interaction in Ancient Syria", 48–57.

[393] Ibid.

[394] For a thorough discussion see von Rüden, "A Touch of Luxury from the Western Fringe of the Ancient World: The Aegean Impact on the Qatna Wall Paintings", in: *QNBAG*, 249–261.

[395] See chapter 3.1.1.2.2. Rüden, "A Touch of Luxury from the Western Fringe of the Ancient World", 256 suggest the same.s

[396] See Liverani, *The Ancient Near East*, 271–278.

[397] This topic was discussed by e.g. Weinfeld using case studies of Shiloh, Bethel and Jerusalem. See Weinfeld, "Traces of Hittite Cult in Shiloh, Bethel and in Jerusalem".

4 Culture transfer

In the case studies above, we have explored changes that occurred in religion and culture of the ancient Syria as a result of cultural contact. We call this process of change and development *cultural transfer*. In this chapter we shall try to use the material to reach some general conclusions.

4.1 Modes of interference

Contact of cultures has several possible modes. Modes presented here are only idealised types. Usually, the contact results in covering the whole spectrum of possibilities.

4.1.1 Foreigners for themselves

Anyone who reaches foreign place may continue to practice his customs for himself, although mostly in a limited scope. This provides a sense of continuity with his homeland and it keeps his "original" culture a living reality.

When incomers are in a weaker position of power, they maintain rather close community regarding practicing their customs. This could had possibly been the case of the people from Mediterranean. Interactions of the locals with them were mostly a matter of trade and art inspiration. In an extreme case this mode can conclude in an enclosed diaspora.

Incomers can also be in a stronger position (e.g. conquerors). In that case, practice of their customs for themselves might be "sponsored" by the locals. This seems to be the case of Egyptian temples and shrines in the southern Syrian and on the coast.

4.1.2 Foreigners with locals

Incomers can also adapt to or join local culture and participate in it. Considering the theoretical approach outlined in the introduction, some common ground and mutual understanding is needed. In the case of the ancient Near East and Egypt the common ground was e.g. polytheistic and non-exclusivist conception of pantheons.

In addition, this possibility was often helped by cultural appropriation. Mami worshipped the *Baʿal Ṣapan* in an Egyptian manner and related him to Seth. The temple of *The Storm-god of Ḫalāb* was adjusted to fit the customs of the Hittites and the same happened in Alalaḫ.

Direct involvement of foreigners in local cults is scarcely attested in the ancient Syria (one example was mentioned of the Ugaritians at Ṣidon). However, this should not be ascribed to a virtual non-existence of this phenomenon but rather to a prevalence of it.

4.1.3 Locals with foreigners

Through interactions with foreigners and their cultures, local culture changes, too. A great example is the spread of cuneiform scribal culture together with its curriculum across the ancient Near East and Egypt.[398] In the introduction we have also mentioned the spread of technologies like glassmaking or horsemanship.

[398] See e.g. Cohen, *Wisdom from the late Bronze Age*,55–80 who illustrates this on an example of wisdom compositions.

The best examples regarding religion were examined in the case of Ugarit and Emar where local and Hurrian-Hittite cults intermingled. Foreign influences, obviously, are not always accepted voluntarily and some evidence suggest that these cults might had been partially imposed by the new ruling class.

Foreignness can also be incorporated because of its prestige. This was mostly the case of Egyptian and Mediterranean art products. Although such foreign objects themselves were not primarily of religious value, their artistic, aesthetic, or political value often resulted in the use of these objects for cultic purposes. The most interesting objects in this regard were statues of an Egyptian manufacture or statues/names of the Egyptian pharaohs desired by the Syrian rulers.

4.2 From foreignness to normality

Seen in light of Turner's theory of antistructure[399] and Douglas's conception of pollution,[400] anything strange and foreign is full of potential which can be both destructive and creative. The power is not only of a political type when the conquerors impose taxes, their own cults and customs, exploit resources etc. Trade, movement of goods, ides or technologies enrich and form cultures in contact. Sometimes, foreign products or goods are considered prestigious for they strangeness and scarcity as was the case of Egyptian or Mediterranean art. This topic was aptly summarised by Liverani's comment on Egypt's trade with Punt:

> *Each partner puts a different value on his own products and those that he receives, and each is convinced that he has made an extraordinary profit.*[401]

However, if something is encountered repeatedly and regularly its strangeness gradually fades away. In the introduction we have mentioned the case of goddess Nikkal who is of a Sumerian origin, but in the LBA she was incorporated to the Hurrian and Ugaritic pantheons to such extent she must be considered as an integral part of them. The same can be said of Kubaba or Gamiš at Karkemiš and the case of spread of cuneiform is yet another example.

Although sometimes a foreign origin may still be seen and even acknowledged, the appearance of some phenomena must be regarded as an integral part of a local culture. This was possibly the case of the Hurrian traits within Hittite culture or the case of the Hittite-Hurrian cult influences at Ugarit or Emar. It may not be an exaggeration to claim that it takes one or two generations to forget a foreignness/strangeness of anything new and accept it as something normal. In that regard the binary oppositions *foreign-local* or *centre-periphery* are partially broken. Once again Liverani's comment, this time on the trade of Egypt with Byblos in the story of *Wenamun*, illustrates the change:

> *The two countries are at the same technological level, and they employ a common measure of value in their trade: each partner is aware of what the other wants and why, and the value that he is disposed to place on it.*[402]

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[399] See Turner, *The Ritual Process*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991.

[400] See Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concept of Pollution and Taboo*, New York: Routledge, 2002.

[401] Liverani, *International Relations in the Ancient Near East*, 167.

[402] Ibid., 170.

4.3 Translatability of concepts in the ancient Near East and Egypt

To conclude, we shall only briefly touch upon the question of translatability of concepts among the cultures of the ancient Near East and Egypt. In light of the theoretical background outlined in the introduction I suggest using the concept of *contextual interchangeability* instead of mere translations. We shall illustrate this on the names and categories of deities.[403]

Throughout the cuneiform world, deities were categorized using logograms and determinatives. This poses a problem for scholars since often we do not know how to properly translate e.g. ^{d}IM. When no phonetic complement is provided, scholars usually translate this as Baʿal, Tešub, Tarḫunt, Addu or Haddu according to the cultural area to which the text belong. However, we have seen that cultural area is at best a blurry concept. An example of Tešub and Baʿal at Ugarit is illuminating. Baʿal appears in many forms: e.g. Baʿal Ṣapan, Baʿal of Ugarit, Baʿal of Ḫalāb and in KTU 1.148 there appears to be seven different Baʿals receiving sacrifices. In KTU 1.42 Tešub of Ḫalāb appears and Tešub appears in many other Hurrian texts. Sources suggest that Tešub and Baʿal were sometimes regarded as the same whereas in other instances were differentiated even different forms of Baʿals or Tešubs. In addition, Baʿal was put into the Sethian category in the *Stele of Mami*. Additional example is that of a lunar deity. Sometimes Kušuḫ and Yarīḫ are regarded the same, they are even given the same consort (Nikkal), but in KTU 1.111 they appear as different entities. The list could go on.

An important source for the translatability of deities are lexical list of gods which compare names of deities of different cultural background.[404] The existence of various god-lists provides us with relationships and possible equations among the deities. Important is the fact that the equations were not always overall identifications but could had been used only in particular contexts.[405] Also, the lists and determinatives could have compared deities of different genders.[406]

Thus, we may conclude that deities were categorised, compared and translated, but only in a limited scope. Deities were not static concepts but fused, split, were conceived as general concepts and at the same time were tied e.g. to a locality in their multiple manifestations. Equations, translations and connections of deities were contextually bound – one deity could had been replaced by (translated as) another if it fitted the context.[407]

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[403] For more detailed discussion see e.g. Smith, *God in Translation: Deities in Cross-Cultural Discourse in the Biblical World*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2010.

[404] See del Olmo Lete, "The Offering Lists and the God Lists", in: Watson and Wyatt (eds.), *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, Leiden: Brill, 305–352 and Litke, *A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God-lists, An: dA-nu-um and An: Anu Šá Amēli*, New Haven: Yale Babylonian Collection, 1998.

[405] See ibid., 15–16 and Tugendhaft, *Baal and the Politics of Poetry*, 63–72.

[406] Smith, *God in Translation*, 47.

[407] I have discussed this topic in my contribution to RAI 64 proceedings. Unedited text of my contribution is added in the appendix (chapter 10.1).

5 Conclusion

In this thesis we have explored several case studies of non-Semitic cultural influences which appeared in the ancient Syria during the LBA. The main influences were those form Mitanni, Ḫatti and Egypt. Unfortunately, due to the lack of sources Mitannian influences were not easily observable. Contacts with Mitanni nevertheless influenced the whole of the ancient Near East and Egypt through the spread of technologies and vocabulary connected to it. Hurrian heritage is seen mostly through influences of the Hittites who had incorporated many Hurrian concepts and then dispersed them over the northern Syria. Egyptian influences are seen mostly in art, although some direct cultic interference is observable, too.

The ancient Near East and Egypt were interconnected through a net of trade routes. Constant quarrels over the areas of the ancient Syria resulted in sophisticated system of diplomacy. The omnipresent contact with foreignness resulted in both multicultural and transcultural society which never stopped changing. Although we may observe similar influences over the whole area, every site has its specifics. There was never any distinct "international style" in art as is sometimes posed. Rather the style differed site to site and time to time. This applies not only to the artistic styles but to other spheres of life, too.

Beside the case studies, we have also explored several theoretical conceptions related to cultural contact and transfer. I regard the most important those which describe cultures as social systems comprised of individual systems. Culture contact is seen as an interference of systems which results in change in all involved systems.

We have also outlined conceptions of foreignness in the antient Near East according to the extant sources. This endeavour has been rather problematic since it was gravely influenced by our (my) own concepts of foreignness. Thus, it comprised mostly of searching for evidence of differentiation based on language, culture, ethnicity and geographical locality. In conclusion, the sources suggest that the construction of foreignness based on these areas of interest was present in the ancient Near East. The case of ethnic differentiation was the most problematic and sources are rather silent in this regard.

The range of this study did not allow us to explore each case study to the detail it deserved. For further research these individual case studies are needed. However, these often loose the bigger perspective and thus need to be cross-referenced to help our understanding of the whole process of culture transfer in the ancient Syria. In addition, a more elaborated discussion on the translatability of concepts (especially deities) is needed.

6 Abbreviations

[xyz]	lacuna, reconstructed text
[...]	lacuna, not reconstructed
<x>	text filled by editor as an omission in original text
{x}	original character omitted by editor
x!	original text corrected by editor
...	passage omitted
(xyz)	translator's addition

Akk.	Akkadian
ANET	Pritchard, James. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. 3rd ed., with supplement. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University, 1969.ss
AT	Wiseman, Donald. *The Alalakh Tablets.* London: The British Institute of Archeology at Ankara, 1953.
BC	before Christ
BM	museal siglum, *British Museum*
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: Glückstadt 1956–2010.
CTH	Laroche, Emmanuel. *Catalogue des Textes Hittites*. Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1971.
DUL	del Olmo Lete, Gregorio, Joaquín Sanmartín and Wilfred Watson. *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. 3rd revised edition. Boston, MA: Brill, 2015.
EA	tablet siglum, *Tell el-Amarna*
ETCSL	*The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature*: http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/ [accessed 7th August 2019]
Emar	Arnaud, Daniel. *Recherches au pays d'Astata – Emar 6/1–4. Textes sumeriens et accadiens*. Paris, 1986.
Hitt.	Hittite
Hurr.	Hurrian
IA	Iron Age
KBo	*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*. Leipzig (Berlin), 1916–.
KRI	Kitchen, Kenneth. *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1975–1990.
KTU	Dietrich, Manfried, Oswald Loretz, Joaquín Sanmartín and Hans Neumann. *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani und anderen Orten. Dritte, erweiterte Auflage*. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2013.
KUB	*Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*. Berlin, 1921–.
LBA	Late Bronze Age
MBA	Middle Bronze Age

MMA	museal siglum, *Metropolitan Museum in New York*
QNBAG	Pfälzner, Peter and Michel Al-Maqdissi. *Qaṭna and the Networks of Bronze Age Globalism: Proceedings of an International Conference in Stuttgart and Tübingen in October 2009*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015.
RAI	*Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*
RS	object siglum, *Ugarit (Ras-Šamra)*
RSO	*Série Ras Shamra – Ougarit*. Paris: ERC, 1983–.
SMEA-45	Salvini, Mirjo and Marie-Claude Trémouille. "Les textes hittites de Meskéné/Emar." *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 45 (2003), 225–271.
SPL	*Starověké písemnictví Levanty*. Praha: Oikoymenh, 2013–2015.
Sum.	Sumerian
Turin	museal siglum, *Museo Egizio, Turin*
Ug.	Ugaritic
Ugaritica I	Schaeffer, Claude. *Ugaritica: etudes relatives aux decouvertes de Ras Shamra*. Paris: Geuthner, 1939.
Ugaritica V	Nougayrol, Jean, Emmanuel Laroche, Claude Schaeffer and Charles Virolleaud. *Ugaritica. V, Nouveaux textes accadiens, hourrites et ugaritiques des archives et bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit: commentaires des textes historiques*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1968.
Urk. IV	Kurt Sethe and Wolfgang Helck. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie,* Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906–1958.
VBoT	Götze, Albrecht. *Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte*. Marburg, 1930.
WB	*Weld-Blundell Prism*, Ashmolean museum: AN1923.444

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10 Appendix

10.1 Article: *Culture Transfer in Light of Seth, Baʿal and Their Relationship* [408]

Culture Transfer in Light of Seth, Baʿal and Their Relationship*

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The New Kingdom era provides us with many examples of the culture transfer among the areas of Ancient Near East and Egypt. The use of horses and carriages in the army, glassmaking techniques or acceptance of several deities into the pantheon are only few examples that were already scholarly discussed.[409] On the following pages we will explore several processes that may lie behind the process of cultural transfer, using an example of the incorporation of the Semitic deity Baʿal and his dynamical relations with the Egyptian Seth.

This article aims to provide more nuanced approach to their relationship than is a claim of mere identification. This claim has a long established tradition[410] and some recent publications of general introduction contribute to this conception as well.[411] Izak Cornelius´s book on Baʿal´s and Rašap´s iconography[412] uses the identification as a standpoint for numerous interpretations and the same can be said of Keiko Tazawa´s publication on Syro-Palestinian deities in the New Kingdom Egypt.[413] Te Velde[414] supports the claim of identification, too.

The problem arose with a realisation that these interpretations are caught in a circle without any "hard" evidence for the claim of identification. Iconography is used as an argument for the identification but at the same it is based on it. Textual evidence points to the connectedness of these deities but is insufficient and on various occasions speaks contra it. Historical circumstances relating to the religious life of the Hyksos are interpreted in light of the identification and at the same time the identification is said to stem from it.[415] The topic is caught in a net of references which can be interpreted in various ways but does not allow us to say a definite positive or negative answer.

Arguments of this article are constructed around topics of Baʿal´s and Seth´s historical presence, iconography, use of Seth/Seth animal determinative, shared mythology and shared characteristics with a reflexion of up to now scholarly discussion. General conclusions of this

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[408] A draft of yet unpublished contribution to RAI 64 proceedings.

* This output was created within the project *Rationality Crisis and Modern Thought*, subproject *Cultural Transfer in Light of Seth, Baʿal and Their Relationship* realized at the Charles University, Faculty of Arts with financial support of the Specific university research in 2018.

[409] As an example, we may point out Schneider 2003.

[410] E.g. Budge 1902, 141–142.

[411] E.g. Wilkinson 2003, 101. Others only point out their connectedness, e.g. Dunand a Zivie-Coche 2004, 344.

[412] Cornelius 1994.

[413] Tazawa 2009.

[414] Te Velde 1967, 120.

[415] Most of my conference talk was focused on the flaws in the claims of the identification. This paper shall deal the topic in a broader perspective, which was only briefly sketched during the talk.

article may be summarised in following claims: deities are interchangeable according to a context in which they appear and it does not necessarily mean their identification; their iconographical appearance may be misleading; we need to take ancient authors seriously; historical origins of a deity can be misleading. Theoretical outcomes of this article are applicable not only to the study of culture transfer in general but to the study of pantheons, conception of deities and interpretations of other cultural phenomena, too.

HISTORICAL PRESENCE

Ideological systems of the ancient Egypt and Near East were not the same. The conceptions of divinity, kingship, cosmos etc. varied greatly. None the less, the ubiquitous contact among these cultures have deepened the general understanding – palaces employed scribes able to communicate in foreign language, foreign deities were venerated, art travelled and was imitated etc. The general understanding on religious level was helped by the fact that all of these systems were polytheistic and nonexclusive.[416] Acknowledging the existence of other deities, while often maintaining the distinction between "our" gods and gods of "others" (or gods of *such and such Land/City*)[417] was a basic standpoint for incorporation of Baʿal into Egypt.

Presence of Baʿal in the north-eastern Delta is attested as early as the 13th dynasty. The evidence is iconographical and corresponds to the ingress of Semitic population into this area.[418] The question is: *How was this deity perceived by Egyptians? Did they understand him through the identification with their own deity?* Historical beginnings do not provide us with any solid information which would help us answer these questions. None the less, some scholars have tried to interpret it, mostly opting for the identification of Seth and Baʿal.

According to Niv Allon the identification happened already before the Hyksos Period.[419] The document that stands as a base for this claim is the *Four Hundred Years Stela*.[420] It is interpreted not as the beginning of solely Seth´s cult in Avaris but also as the beginning of Seth-Baʿal´s cult "*some 70 years before the Hyksos period*".[421] This dating is based on a false reference to Bietak as his dating is based on king Nehesy being called *beloved of Seth*.[422] Tazawa assumes that the identification took place during the Hyksos period and agrees that both Baʿal and Seth had their cult there before.[423] He provides few theories about the cause of this process: it may be because Hyksos adopted cult of Seth or the role of Seth as *god of foreign lands* and storm character of both deities might have played the role.[424] From their arguments it seems more likely that these scholars are those who need to postulate the identification to make it fit with supposed identification of these deities in the New Kingdom. They mix-up together presence with identification.

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[416] Zivie-Coche 2011, 1, 5.

[417] E.g. in Amarna correspondence (EA 21: 31–32, EA 74: 15, EA 137: 31–32, EA 326: 9–11 and others).

[418] For the study and images, see Bietak 2006. The evidence is one cylinder seal and few more debatable depictions.

[419] Allon 2007, 21.

[420] Cairo JE 60539.

[421] Allon 2007, 19.

[422] Allon gives reference to Bietak 1990, 41. According to Bietak, the *Four Hundred Years Stela* puts the beginning of the cult of Seth between 1644 and 1639 BC – the root of the Hyksos period. According to the title of Nehesi "*geliebt von Seth, dem Herrn von Avaris*" who ruled some 70 years before the Hyksos period, the cult may be dated before Hyksos. Bietak claims that the Syrian weather-god was the only known resident (=of Avaris) god during the reign of Nehesy and his title makes sense because the deity behind it was actually Syrian weather-god and not Seth, see Bietak 1996, 41. This interpretation seems very dubious to me.

[423] Tazawa 2009, 154–155 and Bietak 1996, 29.

[424] Tazawa 2009, 155.

Later, Seth is said to be the chief god of the Hyksos in the story of Seqenere[425] and there are attestations of Baʿal´s and Seth´s cult in the Delta region.[426] Since Hyksos probably were of the West-Semitic origin one may suppose their chief god was Baʿal rather than Seth. However, the history of the ancient Near East and Egypt is full of attestations where the conquerors and settled foreigners rather assimilated into the local systems than forced their own. More, the description in Seqenere is ideological and its aims are not of historical precision. The problem is the lack of sources for period before the New Kingdom and we can hardly make any definite claims about such a detailed process. For now, we are left with the fact that both Baʿal and Seth were known in Delta region before the Hyksos period – to what extent remains unanswered as Baʿal is not attested textually.[427]

ASIATIC DISGUISE

As the origins of Baʿal´s cult in Egypt lie in the mist,[428] we shall focus on the New Kingdom period sources. Most of the these are of iconographical character. Fortunately, Egyptian iconography often provides inscriptions which help us to identify the deity. This is a problem for Baʿal since only one of his alleged depictions is inscribed with his name. This depiction, the *Stele of Mami*,[429] was found at Ugarit.

Cornelius provides us with sixteen depictions of Baʿal on reliefs.[430] Seven are identified as Seth (!) by inscription[431] and half lack (legible) inscriptions. Compared with inscribed depictions these could be often identified as Seth or Rašap as well.[432] Tazawa works in the same way (usually, he follows Cornelius).[433] In royal context a scene is often connected of military character.[434] Usually, the figure is interpreted as (Seth-)Baʿal because it has "Asiatic elements". Unfortunately, most of the depictions of Seth-Baʿal type are in a form of scarabs and uninscribed. All share the overall Egyptian style with "Asiatic elements". Often the figure is winged, and serpents are at its side.

In his introduction, Cornelius states that although the inscribed evidence is a starting point for making a system of attributes which belong to a deity, "*Some depictions have the inscription "Seth", but the iconography of the figure is Canaanite and the figure represents Baʿal*."[435] Contra his statement I believe that a craftsman should be trusted. Iconographic criteria can be misleading. Deities bear many attributes which refer to their identity, character and to the contexts that the author wished to express. Deities may share iconographical expressions and sometimes might be identified only on the textual basis.[436] An example may be given – a relief

[425] Papyrus Sallier I. For the text and translation see Biase-Dyson 2013, 382–390.

[426] For the sources see Tazawa 2009, 34–35.

[427] Zivie-Coche 2011, 2.

[428] It is also possible that the cult was formed as late as the New Kingdom period, see Zivie-Coche 2011, 2–3.

[429] AO 13176 / RS 1.[089]+2.[033]+5.183. For the photo see Levy, "A Fresh Look at the Baal-Zaphon Stele", 294 or Cornelius 1994, plate 39 (BR11).

[430] These are BR3–BR17 and BR19 in his catalogue, including the *stele of Mami* (BR11). The rest is of Canaanite style and provenance.

[431] BR5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 13, 19. All are of Egyptian provenance.

[432] BR3, 4, 7, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17. Most of these are of Egyptian provenance. One comes from Canaan (BR12).

[433] See Tazawa 2009, 13–37.

[434] E.g. BR3, 4, 12.

[435] Cornelius 1994, 16.

[436] For the discussion, see Hornung 1982, 126.

from Hibis[437] shows Seth[438] with a falcon head fighting Apophis.[439] The head does not make him identical with Horus, rather it is there to tell something about his character in this context.[440] The image of Seth in "Asiatic disguise" may indeed be inspired by Baʿal´s iconography. None the less, it does not mean their identification. Both the iconographic and textual material frequently places Seth into context of military campaigns carried abroad. In this aspect he may be interpreted as one of the leaders of military campaigns and the god of foreign countries. In textual evidence, Baʿal often appears in this contexts side by side him as if the proper god of the foreigners wanted to be ruled by Egypt as well – and that may the optic through which the Egyptians wanted to see their campaigns.

The uninscribed images on scarabs were often found outside of Egypt.[441] There is a possibility that these depictions might have been perceived as Seth by Egyptians but as Baʿal by Semites. A parallel of more recent times may be given. A picture of the Statue of Liberty was used by traffickers to persuade Polish emigrants-to-be to go to the USA. It was said to be the *Virgin Mary, the queen of Polish*. [442] The original meaning was not known to emigrants and a rightful statement "*but in reality, it is the Statue of Liberty*" is in this context meaningless – for them it was the Virgin Mary. Answer to this "cognitive dissonance" may lie in the optic of a structuralist:[443] the meaning does not lie in the thing itself but in relations it has with other concepts – that is: in the context.

ASTARTE PAPYRUS

An important textual evidence relates to shared mythological composition. *Astarte Papyrus*[444] is often interpreted as an adaptation of Ugaritic myth of KTU 1.1-1.2 where Baʿal fights the aquatic deity Yamm.[445] It is usually assumed that Seth takes place of Baʿal in this version.[446] In the same role, Seth appears also in the *Hearst Magical Papyrus*: "*... as Seth conjured the Sea, so will Seth conjure you, Asiatic disease!*".[447] *Astarte Papyrus* connects Seth not only to Baʿal´s mythological fight but also to his family relations – the hero is helped by ʿAṯtarta. Moreover, ʿAṯtarta and ʿAnat (Baʿal´s consorts at Ugarit) are offered to Seth in the *Contendings of Horus and Seth*.[448]

Astarte Papyrus is not the only occasion when one character takes place of another in a mythical composition – in a version of *Enūma Eliš* the main protagonist Marduk is replaced by Aššur. The purpose of this version is to make Aššur greater than Marduk and to credit him with deeds of Marduk. It was not Marduk but Aššur who was to be venerated for organizing the World.

It may be the same case with Seth and Baʿal. Seth fits into the role as the one who fights the serpent Apophis and through this and other myths is connected to Baʿal´s consorts. Is there anythg better if you want to show a dominance over someone? Seth is greater than the foreign

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[437] *In situ*. For the photo see Te Velde 1967, Plate IX.

[438] Identified by inscription.

[439] Although the example is of later date, it illustrates the point quite well.

[440] What exactly would that be is outside the scope of this paper.

[441] Tazawa provides useful map for the material he researched, see Tazawa 2009, 105.

[442] Pollack 2014, 250–251, for the German original see Pollack 2010.

[443] For an introduction to structuralism, see Wiseman and Groves 1997.

[444] pBN 202 and pAmherst 9. For the text and translation, see Collombert a Coulon 2000.

[445] E.g. Schneider 2003, 160–161.

[446] Unfortunately, the divine protagonist is not known with certainty, due to the severely damaged original. The purpose of the story of *Astarte Papyrus* was to exalt the pharaoh Amenophis II and legitimate his rule, see Pehal 2014, 70.

[447] In this papyrus, *sea* is written not as *ym* but as *w3d wr* "Great Green".

[448] Papyrus Chester Beatty I.

god and through him Amenophis II is the great ruler who fights *isfet* and brings *maat*. A structure of any story may be taken into a new environment, provided with new elements and characters may be renamed. Whether the stories are or are not the same depends solely on the point of view and the questions we ask – they both are and are not the same. It is once again an example of the *contextual interchangeability*.

SETH/SETH ANIMAL DETERMINATIVE

The relation of Baʿal with Seth is very clear in the use of the Seth animal/figure determinative for Baʿal (*bʿr*) in hieroglyphic texts.[449] Interesting analysis regarding this use in other contexts (e.g. for words *storm, rage, suffering, clouds, to be strong* etc.) was given by Niv Allon. He argued that Seth´s syncretism with Baʿal had a positive transformation impact on the Seth and Sethian category in the New Kingdom.[450] However, Seth and his category were not overall negative before the New Kingdom. Also, the slight shift into a more positive sphere (while never losing its ambivalence) might have been connected rather to the political circumstances of foreign campaigns and the dynasties having Seth as their patron.
No other Syrian deity was written with this determinative.[451] Thus, regard it as a determinative for foreign deities is not possible. However, as was already pointed out, it is not the only word where this determinative was used.[452] Use of a determinative is a sign of categorization.[453] After all, some of the words can be found with various determinatives, which can shift their meaning.[454] In light of Seth being the *god of foreignness/the ruler of foreign lands*, any divine ruler of a foreign land (Baʿal or Tešub[455]) may be regarded as belonging to the same category. This could explain why Baʿal is put into this category and others not. Other similarities in their physiognomy support their belonging into the same category, as is discussed below.
Sometimes, the Seth animal/figure alone is interpreted as Baʿal.[456] In the case of *Bulletin of Battle of Qadeš* on the East Wall in Luxor such reading is based on two other versions of the same text which contain the name of Baʿal in the same passage.[457] As will be discussed later, this can be rather seen as an example of *contextual interchangeability*. Regarding this concept, another important example may be presented. In the tomb of Sethi I in the Valley of the Kings, his throne name "Sethi, beloved of Ptah" was written with the sign representing Osiris instead of usual sign for Seth.[458] Osiris far better fitted the context of a tomb.

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[449] However, the syncretistic Seth-Baʿal is not recorded in Egyptian corpus, see Tazawa 2009, 156. The claim that Baʿal was always written with this determinative (Cornelius 1994, 143) is false: e.g. in pLeiden I 343+345 § 2, rto 2, 3 and § 4, rto 5, 1, Baʿal is written with the falcon on standard determinative, see McDonald 2002, 148–149.

[450] Allon 2007, 21. Even more detailed study on the Seth animal determinative and its categories was provided by McDonald 2002, 47–225.

[451] Tazawa 2009, 126.

[452] Allon 2007, 16–18, provides a synoptic table and a diagram of categories.

[453] Goldwasser 1995, 80–106.

[454] Te Velde states that categories within the Sethian category were rather of unfavourable character and those which were ambiguous, such as *strength*, are possible to be written also with Horus falcon as determinative. See Te Velde 1967, 24. However, the positive use of Sethian forces is well established, too.

[455] E.g. in the Egyptian rendering of the *Silver Treaty*, see Edel 1997.

[456] See docs. 68, 74, 76 and 89 in the chapter 2.1.1 in Tazawa 2009. Such reading was suggested for pPetersburg 1116A (doc. 89) which is used as an evidence of Baʿal's cult in Peru-Nefer, already in 1967 by Stadelmann 1967, 35.

[457] The other two are in Ramesseum and Abu Simbel. See Tazawa 2009, 29–30, doc. 68.

[458] Hornung 1991, 156–157, figs. 92 and 93.

SHARED CHARACTERISTICS

We put deities into categories – either according to a *cosmos sphere* where they "belong", such as *solar, lunar, aquatic* etc. or to an *operative sphere*, such as *divination, law, storm, war* etc. These spheres are further formed of more sub-spheres and singular competencies. This categorization is useful for us to create an ideal image of a deity.

Categorization is not, of course, our invention. In the ancient Near East and Egypt the use of determinatives is a great example of its practical impact. The use of logograms for various deities shows us that in cuneiform world there were shared conceptions about their categorization. Also, the existence of various god-lists provides us with relationships and possible equations among the gods. Important is the fact that the equations may not always be overall identification but could be used only in particular contexts.[459] Also, the lists and determinatives could have compared deities of different genders.[460] This allows us to compare and equate deities in the ancient Near East based on shared characteristics, but only in a limited scope.

Categories overlap, and deities share many competencies. This means that no category is governed only by one deity and deities do not usually rule only over one sphere. The sphere of *storm gods*[461] illustrates this phenomenon quite well. Many deities manifest themselves through the storm and associated phenomena (e.g. Baʿal, Seth, Tešub, but also Enlil, Marduk, Ninurta or Anzû). However, not all of those who manifested themselves in that manner were (or should be) regarded as *storm gods*.[462]

In the case of Baʿal and Seth shared physiognomies form only a lesser part (war, storm, *chaoskampf*). On various instances, they are quite different. Where they overlap one can easily change the one for the other. This works because deities can exchange and share their positions when it suits the worshipper. In other words – deities are *contextually interchangeable*.

This claim may be more closely understood through conception of cultures (or religions, societies – including secular ones) as systems. Although we often talk about any system as a whole, we always find different perspectives from individuals. Many of the "adherents" may share the same conceptions about the world, they may use the same vocabulary *to express* it but if we get deeper to what they *think* about it, we would probably find out that their idea of the cosmos is not the same on various occasions nor is it the same for one person in different contexts. There always exists a *fluidity of conceptions*. None the less, people inside one system tend to understand each other better than people of different systems.[463] Also, a system usually has a *centre* and *periphery* but this also depends only on the viewpoint of a person – what is a *centre* for one may be a *periphery* for another. Systems often do not have solid borders. Contents of systems can be regarded as *concepts*. This term can refer to any idea or conception – such as a deity (concept of Baʿal), form of rulership (concepts of kingship, presidency…) etc. but also to visual, acoustic or haptic experience of a person.

Viewed in light of this theory, situations have more possible outcomes. This is not applicable only to deities. Many concepts in one system overlap, and in some contexts may be

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[459] Litke 1998, 15–16 and Tugendhaft 2018, 63–72.

[460] Smith 2010, 47.

[461] This topic was extensively explored by Schwemer 2001. Two summary articles in English were published: Schwemer 2007 and Schwemer 2008.

[462] Schwemer 2007, 125.

[463] We may, of course, talk of sub-systems inside larger systems. Moreover, everyone lives in more than just one (sub-)system and is surrounded by people from various (sub-)systems. The creation of these systems may be described as *the social construction of reality*, see Berger and Luckmann 1967. The process of understanding inside systems can be viewed well through the conception of *strong grid* and *restricted code* as described by Douglas 2003, particularly 57–71.

interchanged without changing the meaning. Also, one concept may be used to express a particular aspect of another. An example of this may be a designation of Czech/Hungarian/etc. president as (European) Trump. These statements help us to pinpoint an aspect of a concept in a particular system. This may well be seen in iconography, too. Providing an attribute (Baʿal with an axe, spear or lightnings), melting two figures together (as is the case of Baʿal-Seth type), changing the head of an Egyptian god (Seth with falcon head, Ash with Seth head) etc. does not equate the figures who share same expressions as entities in any simple way but express something of their essence – something that is shared throughout the categories.

Egyptian syncretistic deities work similar in their combined names (e.g. Amun-Re).[464] These names do not have to appear with a depiction of a deity *which we see as syncretistic* and, as was already stated, in the case of Seth and Baʿal these are not attested at all. Does this mean they are syncretistic anyway as proposed by Cornelius or Tazawa? I believe we owe to the Egyptians the trust in their own sources. Probably, if an artist wrote Seth, he might had meant it. Visual expressions are there to express some aspects of a depicted deity which the author wanted to stress. Thus, the deity can be in "Asiatic disguise", in a similar pose to Baʿal or with the same attributes but remain Seth himself.

The fluidity of conceptions is what gave rise to discussions about the conceptions of divinity.[465] Scholarly research was long (and still is) influenced by our system´s conception of God, demons etc. Known phenomenon of *interpretatio* (*graeca, romana*) had played a role, too. It gave rise to supposed translatability of deities throughout the ancient world. According to Smith,[466] this is an anachronism that inspired Assmann´s concept of *internationality* of gods.[467] Translatability, categorization, use of same logograms for different deities etc. are observed in already mentioned god-lists. However, in the end, the translations and identifications were carried individually and inconsistently, always to fit the context.

Usually, translations lack some aspects of the original and are mere approximations of concepts that do not exist in the other system. An example may be given once again from the book *Kaiser von Amerika* – the title itself talks about this approximation and, as can be read, it was said to the emigrants-to-be that it was the *American Emperor* who invites them to go to the USA.[468] In a sense, *emperor* was an *interpretatio* phenomenon itself. Whether this translational strategy creates an identification of concepts or only an approximation in the mind of a person depends on the context and the person himself.

TO FIT THE SYSTEM

The necessity for incorporation of foreign concepts is to fit them into their new system. No concept survives in a system if it has no place there at all. Reasons do not necessarily need to be very strong and deep from our point of view – arguments as "*I just like it*" or "*it seems useful*" are enough to hold a concept vital. Aesthetical, political, ideological or practical reasons

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[464] Dunand poignantly summarises this concept: "*The association of two deities via their names does not imply the disappearance of the two original realities through fusion. [...] It was not a matter of proceeding from multiplicity to unity, but of describing, by means of appropriations, the multiform aspect of the god and endowing him with attributes and functions that were not originally his.*". Dunand a Zivie-Coche 2004, 27–28.

[465] For Egypt, the best to my knowledge are Hornung 1982 or Baines 2000, for Mesopotamia it is Porter 2009 and few more ancient cultures are explored in Porter 2000. Ancient Syria is usually regarded as the same as Mesopotamia in this aspect.

[466] Smith 2010, 49.

[467] Assmann, 1998. Taken *ad absurdum*, this means that pantheons were perceived as the same everywhere, but everyone called the deities by different names.

[468] Pollack 2014, 179.

all play its role on a way from presence of a foreign concept to its incorporation or rejection. Any new concept needs to be tied to already existing concepts. That changes its original meanings. The original structure is often irrelevant since only parts of it are known to those who accept it. E.g. Baʿal´s character as a god of divination does not play any role in Egypt, as far as we know. Process of incorporation is a complex one and unfortunately, we almost always lack sources for its reconstruction – usually we only see an outcome of it.
From this point of view, the argument of mere historical presence of Semites in Egypt is not enough for the incorporation of Baʿal into the Egyptian system and definitely not for his identification with Seth. Incorporation is not lead by a presence of an alien concept (of course, this is a necessity) but because these correspond with local needs, wishes and thoughts. Foreign deities were incorporated rather because they made sense in their new habitat. After all, Egyptians have encountered numerous other deities which were not incorporated. It could have been in connection with the foreign campaigns and international relations as only some of their aspects are used in the royal context. The use of Baʿal and Rašap in magical texts is connected to "Asiatic sickness", *Stele of Mami* is for Baʿal in a place where he enjoyed a cultic practice. Similarly, Hyksos might have adopted the cult of Seth in a place where "he ruled". After all, the conceptions of deities throughout Egypt and Near East were at least partially territorial.[469]
During the process of incorporation, a concept is usually not taken in its entirety and a new characteristic may be ascribed to it.[470] Taking a concept out of context of its original system and rooting it into other leads to a change. Because of that, Baʿal of the Egyptians differs from Baʿal of the Levantines, although he was quite probably perceived as the same entity by both sides.

DOES THE ORIGIN MATTER?

The influence of the Semites on Seth´s iconography leads us to the question of *origin*. *Does the origin matter?* Even if his visual representation with "Asiatic elements" came directly from Baʿal and was incorporated into the Egyptian canon, it still cannot be used as a solid argument for the identification. The origin can be both very inspirational and very dangerous in an interpretation of the outcome. For example, St. George is sometimes said to originate from Seth[471] but to claim the identification of these concepts or to reconstruct their physiognomy on the base of their *origin* or *current state* would be methodologically dubious. Similarities can be found in etymology as well – *original* meaning may be very misleading for the derived terms. None the less, if approached critically both etymology and comparison are useful tools as they help us to understand why a concept fitted a structure in its particular way.[472]

CONCLUSION

The presence of Baʿal in the Egyptian world and his incorporation into it must be viewed in a larger context. The shortcut of his identification with Seth has many methodological difficulties and can lead to dubious conclusions – such as the reconstruction of the religious history of the Hyksos period or the construction of the iconographical criteria for Baʿal.
Sources deserve more nuanced approach and the question of identification should be rather secondary. Since deities are regarded as entities in the sources but at the same time are concepts interwoven in the net of references which dynamically change, their translations,

[469] As can be observed in local "versions" of various deities.
[470] Sometimes it is reinterpreted to such extent that the original is no longer (easily) recognisable.
[471] As a serpent slayer, see Wilkinson 2003, 199.
[472] It depends on the intention of the scholar. It is, of course, legitimate to explore the evolution of a concept but that is not always interchangeable with the search for meaning in a specific time and place.

approximations and identifications among the systems are dynamic as well. Approaching the cultural transfer, we must always bear in mind the perspective we want to disclose. Seth and Baʿal are a fine example of the fact that perspective matters as *they may be both same and are not the same* depending on the question asked.

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